

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

821.47

~~M642P~~

P 311 C

bk. 2

MILTON

PARADISE LOST, BOOK II

EDITED BY

E. K. CHAMBERS, B.A.

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	3
PARADISE LOST, BOOK 11	14
NOTES	55

FIRST EDITION 1893

REPRINTED 1907, 1914, 1921, 1924

1928, 1931, 1934, 1938, 1945, 1949, 1955

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY CHARLES BATEY, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PARADISE LOST

BOOK II.

Satan asserts his preeminence and opens the debate.

- HIGH on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshon the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
5 Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence ; and from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain war with Heav'n, and by success untaught
10 His proud imaginations thus display'd :
 ' Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heav'n,
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though opprest and fall'n,
I give not Heav'n for lost. From this descent
15 Celestial virtues rising, will appear ~~power~~
More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
And trust themselves to fear no second fate.
Me though just right, and the fixt laws of Heav'n
Did first create your leader, next free choice,

- 20 With what besides, in counsel or in fight,
Hath been achiev'd of merit, yet this loss
Thus far at least recover'd, hath much more
Establisht in a safe unenvied throne
Yielded with full consent. The happier state
25 In Heav'n which follows dignity, might draw
Envy from each inferior; but who here
Will envy whom the highest place exposes
Foremost to stand against the Thunde'rer's aim
Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
30 Of endless pain? where there is then no good
For which to strive, no strife can grow up there
From faction; for none sure will claim in Hell
Precedence; none, whose portion is so small
Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
35 Will covet more. With this advantage then
To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
More than can be in Heav'n, we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old,
Surer to prosper than prosperity
40 Could have assur'd us; and by what best way,
Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate; who can advise, may speak.'

Moloch urges open war.

- He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, scepter'd king,
Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest spirit
45 That fought in Heav'n; now fiercer by despair:

- His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
Equal in strength, and rather than be less
Car'd not to be at all ; with that care lost
Went all his fear ; of God, or Hell, or worse
50 He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake
 ' My sentence is for open war ; of wiles, . . .
More unexpert, I boast not : them let those
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
55 Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait
The signal to ascend, sit ling'ring here
Heav'ns fugitives, and for their dwelling-place
Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
The prison of his tyranny who reigns
60 By our delay ? No, let us rather choose
Arm'd with Heil-flames and fury all at once
O'er Heav'ns high tow'rs to force resistless way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the Torturer ; when to meet the noise
65 Of his almighty engine he shall hear
Infernal thunder ; and for lightning see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his angels ; and his throne itself
Mixt with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire,
70 His own invented torments. But perhaps
The way seems difficult and steep to scale
With upright wing against a higher foe.
Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
Of that forgetful lake benumb not still,

- 75 That in our proper motion we ascend
Up to our native seat: descent and fall
To us is adverse. Who but felt of late
When the fierce foe hung on our brok'n rear
Insulting, and pursu'd us through the deep,
80 With what compulsion and laborious flight
We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easy then;
Th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke
Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
To our destruction: if there be in Hell
85 Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse
Than to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguishable fire
Must exercise us without hope of end
90 The vassals of his anger, when the scourge
Inexorably, and the tortu'ring hour
Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus
We should be quite abolisht and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
95 His utmost ire? which to the highth enrag'd,
Will either quite consume us, and reduce
To nothing this essential, happier far
Than mise'rable to have eternal being:
Or if our substance be indeed divine,
100 And cannot cease to be, we are at worst
On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
Our power sufficient to disturb his Heav'n,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,

Though inaccessible, his fatal throne;
 105 Which if not victory is yet revenge.'

Belial counsels peace, dwelling on the dangers of rebellion.

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
 Despe'rate revenge, and battle dangerous
 To less than Gods. On th' other side uprose
 Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
 110 A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seem'd
 For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
 But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
 Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
 The better reason, to perplex and dash
 115 Maturest counsels; for his thoughts were low;
 To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
 Tim'rous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear;
 And with persuasive accent thus began.
 'I should be much for open war, O Peers,
 120 As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd
 Main reason to persuade immediate war,
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
 Om'i'nous conjecture on the whole success
 When he who most excels in fact of arms,
 125 In what he counsels and in what excels
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
 And utter dissolution, as the scope
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
 First, what revenge? The tow'rs of Heav'n are fill'd
 130 With armed watch, that render all access

- Impregnable: oft on the borde'ring deep
Encamp their legions, or with obscure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of night,
Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
135 By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise
With blackest insurrection, to confound
Heaven's purest light, yet our great Enemy
All incorruptible would on his throne
Sit unpolluted; and th' ethereal mould
140 Incapable of stain would soon expel
Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire
Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
Is flat despair: we must exasperate
Th' Almighty Victor to spend all his rage,
145 And that must end us, that must be our cure,
To be no more; sad cure; for who would lose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost
150 In the wide womb of uncreated night,
Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,
Let this be good, whether our angry Foe
Can give it, or will ever? how he can
Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.
155 Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire,
Belike through impotence, or unaware,
To give his enemies their wish, and end
Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
To punish endless? "Wherefore cease we then?"

- 160 Say they who counsel war: "we are decreed,
Reserv'd and destin'd to eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more?
What can we suffer worse?" Is this then worst,
Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
- 165 What when we fled amain, pursu'd and strook
With Heav'ns afflicting thunder, and besought
The de-p to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay
Chain'd on the burning lake? that sure was worse.
- 170 What if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires,
Awak'd should blow them into seven-fold rage,
And plunge us in the flames? or from above
Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us? What if all
- 175 Her stores were open'd, and this firmament
Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
Designing or exhorting glorious war,
- 180 Caught in a fie'ry tempest shall be hurl'd
Each on his rock transfixt, the sport and prey
Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
There to converse with everlasting groans,
- 185 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd,
Ages of hopeless end? this would be worse.
War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile

With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
190 Views all things at one view? He from Heav'n's highth
All these our motions vain, sees and derides;
Not more Almighty to resist our might
Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heav'n
195 Thus trampil'd, thus expell'd to suffer here
Chains and these torments? better these than worse,
By my advice; since fate inev'table
Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
The Victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
200 Our strength is equal; nor the law unjust
That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,
If we were wise, against so great a foe
Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold
205 And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear
What yet they know must follow, to endure
Exile, or ignomi'ny, or bonds, or pain,
The sentence of their conqueror: this is now
Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
210 Our supreme Foe in time may much remit
His anger, and perhaps thus far remov'd
Not mind us not offending, satisf'd
With what is punish't; whence these raging fires
Will slack'n, if his breath stir not their flames.
215 Our purer essence then will overcome
Their noxious vapour, or inur'd not feel,
Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd

In temper and in nature, will receive
 Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain ;
 220 This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,
 Besides what hope the never-ending flight
 Of future days may bring, what chance, what change ;
 Worth waiting, since our present lot appears
 For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
 225 If we procure not to ourselves more woe.'

*Mammon follows on the same side, and speaks of the
 alleviations of life in Hell.*

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb
 Counsell'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth,
 Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.
 'Either to disenthroned the King of Heav'n
 230 We war, if war be best, or to regain
 Our own right lost. Him to unthroned we then
 May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield
 To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife :
 The former vain to hope argues as vain
 235 The latter: for what place can be for us
 Within Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord Supreme
 We overpower? Suppose he should relent
 And publish grace to all, on promise made
 Of new subjection; with what eyes could we
 240 Stand in his presence humble, and receive
 Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne
 With warbl'd hymns, and to his Godhead sing
 Forc't Halleluiahs; while he lordly sits

- Our envied Sovran, and his altar breathes
245 Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers,
Our servile offe'rings? This must be our task
In Heav'n, this our delight; how wearisome
Eternity so spent in worship paid
To whom we hate! Let us not then pursue
250 By force impossible, by leave obtain'd
Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our state
Of splendid vassalage, but rather seek
Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
255 Free, and to none accountable, preferring
Hard liberty before the easy yoke
Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse
260 We can create; and in what place so e'er
Thrive under evi'l, and work ease out of pain
Through labour and endurance. This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'ns all-ruling Sire
265 Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd,
And with the majesty of darkness round
Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Must'ring their rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell!
As he our darkness, cannot we his light
270 Imitate when we please? This desert soil
Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise

- Magnificence; and what can Heav'n show more?
Our torments also may in length of time
275 Become our elements, these piercing fires
As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
Into their temper; which must needs remove
The sensible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful counsels, and the settl'd state
280 Of order, how in safety best we may
Compose our present evils, with regard
Of what we are and where, dismissing quite
All thoughts of war: ye have what I advise.'

The success of Mammon's speech causes Beelzebub to rise

- He scarce had finisht, when such murmur fill'd
285 Th' assembly, as when hollow rocks retain
The sound of blust'ring winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence luli
Sea-faring men o'er-watcht, whose bark by chance
Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay
290 After the tempest: such applause was heard
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas'd,
Advising peace: for such another field
They dreaded worse than Hell: so much the fear
Of thunder and the sword of Michaël
295 Wrought still within them; and no less desire
To found this nether empire, which might rise
By policy, and long process of time,
In emulation opposite to Heav'n.
Which when Beelzebub perceiv'd; than whom,

309 Satan except, none higher sat, with grave
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
 A pillar of state; deep on his front engraven ^{face}
 Deliberation sat and public care;
 And princely counsel in his face yet shon,
 305 Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood
 With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
 The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look
 Drew audience and attention still as night
 Or summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

*He suggests a middle course of concealed war. Heaven
 may be vulnerable through Man.*

310 'Thrones and Imperial Pow'rs, offspring of Heav'n
 Ethereal Virtues; or these titles now
 Must we renounce, and changing style be call'd
 Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
 Inclines, here to continu', and build up here
 315 A growing empire; doubtless; while we dream,
 And know not that the King of Heav'n hath doom'd
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
 Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new league
 320 Banded against his throne; but to remain
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
 Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
 His captive multitude: for he, be sure,
 In highth or depth, still first and last will reign
 325 Sole King, and of his kingdom lose no part

- By our revolt ; but over Hell extend
 His empire, and with iron sceptre rule
 Us here, as with his golden those in Heav'n.
 What sit we then projecting peace and war?
 330 War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss
 Irreparable: terms of peace yet none
 Vouchsaft or sought ; for what peace will be giv'n
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,
 And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
 335 Inflicted? and what peace can we return,
 But to our pow'r hostility and hate,
 Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
 Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least
 May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
 340 In doing what we most in suffering feel?
 Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
 With dangerous expedition to invade
 Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
 Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
 345 Some easier enterprise? There is a place
 (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
 Err not) another world, the happy seat
 Of some new race call'd Man, about this time
 To be created like to us, though less
 350 In pow'r and excellence, but favour'd more
 Of him who rules above ; so was his will
 Pronounc'd among the gods, and by an oath,
 That shook Heav'ns whole circumference, confirm'd.
 Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn

- 355 What creatures there inhabit, of what mould,
Or substance, how endu'd, and what their power,
And where their weakness, how attempted best,
By force or subtlety. Though Heav'n be shut,
And Heav'ns high Arbitrator sit secure
360 In his own strength, this place may lie expos'd
The utmost border of his kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it: here perhaps
Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
By sudden onset; either with Hell-fire
365 To waste his whole creation, or possess
All as our own, and drive as we were driven,
The puny habitants; or if not drive,
Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
370 Abolish his own works. This would surpass
Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
In our confusion, and our joy upraise
In his disturbance; when his darling sons
Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
375 Their frail originals, and faded bliss,
Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth
Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
Hatching vain empires.'

This is Satan's own policy, and is joyfully accepted.

Thus Beëlzebub

Pleaded his devi'lish counsel, first devis'd

- 380 By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence

But from the Author of all ill could spring
 So deep a malice, to confound the race
 Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
 To mingle and involve; done all to spite
 385 The great Creator? But their spite still serves
 His glory to augment. The bold design
 Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy
 Sparkl'd in all their eyes; with full assent
 They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.

*Beelzebub asks who shall be sent for a true report of the
 new World.*

390 'Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,
 Synod of gods; and like to what ye are,
 Great things resolv'd: which from the lowest deep
 Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,
 Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view
 395 Of those bright confines, whence with neighbo'ring arms
 And opportune excursion, we may chance
 Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some mild zone
 Dwell not unvisited of Heav'ns fair light
 Secure, and at the bright'ning orient beam
 400 Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious air,
 To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
 Shall breathe her balm. But first whom shall we send
 In search of this new world, whom shall we find
 Sufficient? who shall tempt with wand'ring feet
 405 The dark unbottom'd infinite abyss,
 And through the palpable obscure find out
 His uncouth way, or spread his airy flight

Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
410 The happy isle? What strength, what art can then
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
Through the strict senteries and stations thick
Of angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumspection, and wee now no less
415 Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send,
The weight of all and our last hope relies.'

Satan offers to undertake the expedition.

This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd
To second, or oppose, or undertake
420 The perilous attempt: but all sat mute,
Ponde'ring the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In other's count'nance read his own dismay,
Astonisht: none among the choice and prime
Of those Heav'n-warring champions could be found
425 So hardy as to proffer or accept
Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride
Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.
430 'O progeny of Heav'n, empyreal Thrones,
With reason hath deep silence and demur
Seiz'd us, though undismay'd: long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
Our prison strong, this huge convex of fire,

- 435 Outrageous to devour, immures us round
Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant
Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.
These past, if any pass, the void profound
Of unessential Night receives him next
- 440 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being
Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
If thence he scape into whatever world,
Or unknown region, what remains him less
Than unknown dangers and as hard escape?
- 445 But I should ill become this throne, O peers,
And this imperial Sov'ranty, adorn'd
With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd
And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty' or danger could deter
- 450 Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honour, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
- 455 Of hazard more, as he above the rest
High honor'd sits? Go therefore, mighty powers,
Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best may ease
The present misery, and render Hell
- 460 More tole'rable; if there be cure or charm
To respite or deceive, or slack the pain
Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch
Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad

Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek
 465 Delive'rance for us all: this enterprize
 None shall partake with me.' Thus saying, rose
 The Monarch, and prevented all reply;
 Prudent, lest from his resolution rais'd,
 Others among the chief might offer now
 470 (Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd;
 And so refus'd might in opinion stand
 His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
 Dreaded not more th' adventure than his voice
 475 Forbidding; and at once with him they rose;

The offer is accepted with reverence,

Their rising all at once was as the sound
 Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
 With awful reve'rence prone; and as a god
 Extol him equal to the Highest in Heav'n:
 480 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
 That for the gene'ral safety he despis'd
 His own: for neither do the spirits damn'd
 Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
 Their specious deeds on earth, which glory' excites,
 485 Or close ambition varnisht o'er with zeal.
 Thus they their doubtful consultations dark
 Ended rejoicing in their matchless chief:
 As when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds
 Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'erspread
 490 Heav'ns cheerful face, the low'ring element

Scowls o'er the darken'd landscape 'snow, or show'r ;
 If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
 Extend his ev'ning beam, the fields revive,
 The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
 495 Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.
 O shame to men ! devil with devil damn'd
 Firm concord holds, men only disagree
 Of creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heav'nly grace ; and God proclaiming peace,
 500 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy ;
 As if (which might induce us to accord)
 Man had not hellish foes anow besides,
 505 That day and night for his destruction wait.

and the assembly is broken up.

The Stygian council thus dissolv'd ; and forth
 In order came the grand infernal Peers,
 Midst came their mighty Paramount, and seem'd
 Alone the antagonist of Heav'n, nor less
 510 Than Hell's dread Emperor with pomp supreme,
 And God-like imitated state ; him round
 A globe of fiery Seraphim enclos'd
 With bright imblazonry, and horrent arms.
 Then of their session ended they bid cry
 515 With trumpets' regal sound the great result :
 Towa'rd the four winds four speedy Cherubim
 Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy

By harald's voice explain'd: the hollow' abyss
Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell
520 With deafning shout, return'd them loud acclaim.

The amusements of the devils are recounted.

Thence more at ease their minds and somewhat rais'd
By false presumptuous hope, the ranged pow'rs
Disband, and wand'ring, each his several way
Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
525 Leads him perplex, where he may likeliest find
Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
The irksome hours, till his great chief return.
Part on the plain, or in the air sublime
Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,
530 As at th' Olympian games or Pythian fields;
Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form.
As when to warn proud cities war appears
Wag'd in the troubl'd sky, and armies rush
535 To battle in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the airy knights, and couch their spears
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell
540 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.
As when Alcides from Æchalia crown'd
With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines,

- 545 And Lichas from the top of Cæta threw
 Into th' Euboic sea. Others more mild,
 Retreated in a silent valley, sing
 With notes angelical to many' a harp
 Their own heroic deeds and hapless fall
 550 By doom of battle; and complain that Fate
 Free Virtue should enthral to Force or Chance.
 Their song was partial, but the harmony
 (What could it less when spirits immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
 555 The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
 (For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)
 Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
 In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
 Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
 560 Fixt fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
 And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.
 Of good and evil much they argu'd then,
 Of happiness and final misery,
 Passion and apathy, and glory' and shame;
 565 Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy:
 Yet with a pleasing sorcery could charm
 Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
 Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breast
 With stubborn patience as with triple steel

A description of Hell.

- 570 Another part in squadrons and gross bands,
 On bold adventure to discover wide

That dismal world, if any clime perhaps
Might yield them easier habitation, bend
Four ways their flying march, along the banks
575 Of four infernal rivers that disgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful streams;
Abhorred Styx the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
580 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Far off from these a slow and silent stream,
Lethe the river of oblivion rolls
Her wat'ry labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
585 Forthwith his former state and being forgets,
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
Beyond this flood a frozen continent
Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
590 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems
Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,
A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
595 Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of fire.
Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd,
At certain revolutions all the damn'd
Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
600 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice

- Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
 Immovable, infixt, and frozen round,
 Periods of time ; thence hurried back to fire.
 They ferry over this Lethean sound
605 Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment ;
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
 All in one moment, and so near the brink ;
610 But Fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt,
 Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
 The ford, and of itself the water flies
 All taste of living wight, as once it fled
 The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
615 In confus'd march forlorn, th' advent'rous bands
 With shudd'ring horror pale and eyes agast
 View'd first their lamentable lot, and found
 No rest : through many a dark and dreary vale
 They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
620 O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
 Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of
 death,
 A universe of death, which God by curse
 Created evi'l, for evil only good,
 Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
625 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
 Abomi'nable, inutte'able, and worse
 Than fables yet have feign'd or fear conceiv'd,
 Gorgons and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.

Satan finds Sin and Death keeping the gates of Hell.

- Meanwhile the Adversa'ry of God and Man,
630 Satan with thoughts inflam'd of high'st design,
Puts on swift wings, and toward the gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight; sometimes
He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left.
Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars
635 Up to the fiery concave tow'ring high.
As when far off at sea a fleet descri'd
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
640 Their spicy drugs; they on the trading flood
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
Ply stemming nightly toward the pole: so seem'd
Far off the flying Fiend; at last appear
Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof,
645 And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were brass,
Three iron, three of adamantine rock
Impene'trable, impal'd with circling fire,
Yet unconsum'd. Before the gates there sat
On either side a formidable shape;
650 The one seem'd woman to the waist, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
With mortal sting: about her middle round
A cry of Hell-hounds never ceasing bark'd
655 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung

A hideous peal : yet, when they list, would creep,
 If aught disturb'd their noise, into her womb,
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,
 Within unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these
 660 Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea that parts
 Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore :
 Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when call'd
 In secret, riding through the air she comes
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
 665 With Lapland witches, while the labouring moon
 Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
 Distinguisha'ble in member, joint, or limb,
 Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
 670 For each seem'd either ; black it stood as night,
 Fierce as ten furies, terrible as Hell,
 And shook a dreadful dart ; what seem'd his head
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on.

*An angry interview between Satan and Death is interrupted
 by Sin,*

Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
 675 The monster moving onward came as fast
 With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.
 Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
 Admir'd, not fear'd ; God and his Son except,
 Created thing naught valu'd he nor shunn'd ;
 680 And with disdainful look thus first began.
 ' Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,

- That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated front athwart my way
To yonder gates? Through them I mean to pass,
685 That be assur'd, without leave askt of thee :
Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with spirits of Heav'n.'
To whom the goblin full of wrath repli'd ;
'Art thou that traitor Angel, art thou he,
690 Who first broke peace in Heav'n and faith, till then
Unbroken ; and in proud rebellious arms,
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's sons
Conjur'd against the Highe'st ; for which both thou
And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd
695 To waste eternal days in woe and pain?
And reckon'st thou thyself with spi'rits of Heav'n,
Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
Where I reign king, and to enrage thee more,
Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment,
700 False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings,
Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
Thy ling'ring, or with one stroke of this dart
Strange horror seize thee', and pangs unfelt before.'
So spake the grisly terror, and in shape,
705 So speaking and so threat'ning, grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform: on th' other side,
Incens't with indignation Satan stood
Unterrifi'd; and like a comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
710 In th' Arctic sky, and from his horrid hair

Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
 Levell'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands
 No second stroke intend, and such a frown
 Each cast at th' other, as when two black clouds
 715 With Heav'ns artill'ry fraught, come rattling on
 Over the Caspian, then stand front to front
 Hov'ring a space, till winds the signal blow
 To join their dark encounter in mid air :
 So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell
 720 Grew darker at their frown, so match't they stood;
 For never but once more was either like
 To meet so great a foe : and now great deeds
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,
 Had not the snaky sorceress that sat
 725 Fast by Hell-gate, and kept the fatal key,
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.

who tells Satan that she is his daughter, and Death his Son

'O father, what intends thy hand,' she cri'd,
 'Against thy only son? What fury' O son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
 730 Against thy father's head? and know'st for whom?
 For him who sits above and laughs the while
 At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
 Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids;
 His wrath which one day will destroy ye both.'
 735 She spake, and at her words the hellish pest
 Forbore, then these to her Satan return'd :
 'So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange

- Thou interposest, that my sudden hand
Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
740 What it intends; till first I know of thee,
What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why
In this infernal vale first met thou call'st
Me father, and that phantasm call'st my son?
I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
745 Sight more detestable than him and thee.'
T' whom thus the portress of Hell-gate repli'd.
'Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul? once deem'd so fair
In Heav'n, when at th' assembly, and in sight
750 Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd
In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's King,
All on a sudden miserable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swam
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
755 Threw forth; till on the left side op'ning wide,
Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
Then shining heav'nly fair, a goddess arm'd,
Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seiz'd
All th' host of Heav'n: back they recoil'd afraid
760 At first, and call'd me SIN: and for a sign
Portentous held me: but familiar grown,
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing
765 Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st
With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd

- A growing burden. Meanwhile war arose,
And fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remain'd
(For what could else?) to our Almighty Foe
770 Clear victory, to our part loss and rout
Through all the empyrean: down they fell
Driv'n headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
Into this deep, and in the general fall
I also; at which time this powerful key
775 Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep
These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
Without my op'ning. Pensive here I sat
Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb
Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown,
780 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
785 Transform'd: but he my inbred enemy
Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal dart,
Made to destroy: I fled, and cri'd out, DEATH;
Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd
From all her caves, and back resounded DEATH.
790 I fled, but he pursu'd (though more, it seems,
Inflam'd with lust than rage) and swifter far,
Me overtook his mother all dismay'd,
And in embraces forcible and foul
Ingend'ring with me, of that rape begot
795 These yelling monsters that with ceaseless cry

Surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceiv'd
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
 To me; for when they list into the womb
 That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw
 800 My bowels, their repast; then bursting forth
 Afresh, with conscious terrors vex me round,
 That rest or intermission none I find.
 Before mine eyes in opposition sits
 Grim Death my son and foe, who sets them on,
 805 And me his parent would full soon devour
 For want of other prey, but that he knows
 His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
 Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,
 Whenever that shall be; so Fate pronounc'd.
 810 But thou O father, I forewarn thee, shun
 His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
 To be invulne'able in those bright arms,
 Though temper'd heav'nly; for that mortal dint,
 Save he who reigns above, none can resist.'

Satan answers mildly:

815 She finish'd, and the subtle Fiend his lore
 Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answer'd smooth.
 'Dear daughter, since thou claim'st me for thy sire,
 And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge
 Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
 820 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change
 Befall'n us unforeseen, unthought of, know
 I come no enemy, but to set free

- From out this dark and dismal house of pain,
Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly host
825 Of spi'rits that in our just pretences arm'd
Fell with us from on high: from them I go
This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread
Th' unfounded deep, and through the void immense
830 To search with wand'ring quest a place foretold
Should be, and by concurring signs, ere now
Created vast and round; a place of bliss
In the purlieus of Heav'n, and therein plac't
A race of upstart creatures, to supply
835 Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd,
Lest Heav'n surcharg'd with potent multitude
Might hap to move new broils; be this or aught
Than this more secret now design'd, I haste
To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
840 And bring ye to the place where thou and Death
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm'd
With odours; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.'

and Death consents to unlock the gate of Hell.

- 845 He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and Death
Grinn'd horribly a gastly smile, to hear
His famine should be fill'd, and blest his maw
Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoic'd
His mother bad, and thus bespake her sire.

- 850 'The key of this infernal pit by due,
And by command of Heav'n's all-powerful King
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
These adamantine gates; against all force
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
855 Fearless to be o'ermatch't by living might.
But what owe I to his commands above
Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To sit in hateful office here confin'd,
860 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and Heav'nly-born,
Here in perpetual agony and pain,
With terrors and with clamours compast round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
865 My being gav'st me; whom should I obey
But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon
To that new world of light and bliss, among
The gods who live at ease, where I shall reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems
870 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.'
- Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,
Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;
And towards the gate rolling her bestial train,
Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
875 Which but herself not all the Stygian powers
Could once have mov'd: then in the keyhole turns
Th' intricate wards, and every bolt and bar,
Of massy iro'n or solid rock with ease

Unfastens: on a sudden open fly,
880 With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut
Excell'd her power; the gates wide open stood,
885 That with extended wings a banner'd host
Under spread ensigns marching might pass through
With horse and chariots rankt in loose array;
So wide they stood, and like a furnace-mouth
Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.

The realm of Chaos and Night is described.

890 Before their eyes in sudden view appear
The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
Illimitable ocean without bound,
Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth,
And time and place are lost; where eldest Night
895 And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce
Strive here for maste'ry, and to battle bring
900 Their embryon atoms; they round the flag
Of each his faction, in their several clans,
Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
Swarm populous, unnumber'd as the sands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
905 Levied to side with warring winds, and poize

- Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere
 He rules a moment : Chaos umpire sits,
 And by decision more embroils the fray
 By which he reigns : next him high arbiter
 910 Chance governs all. Into his wild abyss,
 The womb of Nature and perhaps her grave,
 Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
 But all these in their pregnant causes mix't
 Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,
 915 Unless th' Almighty Maker them ordain
 His dark materials to create more worlds :
 Into this wild abyss the wary Fiend
 Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
 Ponder'ring his voyage ; for no narrow frith
 920 He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd
 With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
 Great things with small) than when Bellona storms
 With all her batte'ring engines bent to rase
 Some capi'tal city ; or less than if this frame
 925 Of heav'n were falling, and these elements
 In mutiny had from her axle torn
 The stedfast Earth.

Satan essays a difficult voyage.

- At last his sail-broad vans
 He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke
 Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many' a league
 930 As in a cloudy chair ascending rides
 Audacious, but that seat soon failing, meets

- A vast vacuity : all unawares
 Flutt'ring his pennons vain plumb down he drops
 Ten thousand fadom deep, and to this hour
 935 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
 The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud
 Instinct with fire and nitre hurried him
 As many miles aloft : that fury stay'd,
 Quench't in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea,
 940 Nor good dry land : nigh founder'd on he fares,
 Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
 Half flyi'ng ; behoves him now both oar and sail.
 As when a gryphon through the wilderness
 With winged course o'er hill or moory dale,
 945 Pursues the Arimasian, who by stealth
 Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
 The guarded gold : so eagerly the Fiend
 O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense
 or rare,
 With head, hands, wings or feet, pursues his way,
 950 And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies :
 At length an universal hubbub wild
 Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd
 Borne through the hollow dark assaults his ear
 With loudest vehemence : thither he plies,
 955 Undaunted to meet there whatever power
 Or spirit of the nethermost abyss
 Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
 Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies

He reaches the throne of Chaos.

- Borde'ring on light ; when straight behold the throne
960 Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread
Wide on the wasteful deep ; with him enthron'd
Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The consort of his reign ; and by them stood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreadful name
965 Of Demogorgon ; Rumor next and Chance,
And Tumult and Confusion all embroil'd,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.
'T' whom Satan turning boldly, thus. 'Ye powers
And spirits of this nethermost abyss,
970 Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy,
With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your realm, but by constraint
Wand'ring this darksome desert, as my way
Lies through your spacious empire up to light ;
975 Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek
What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heav'n ; or if some other place
From your dominion won, th' ethereal King
Possesses lately, thither to arrive
980 I travel this profound ; direct my course ;
Directed no mean recompense it brings
To your behoof, if I that region lost,
All usurpation then expell'd, reduce
To her origi'nal darkness and your sway
985 (Which is my present journey) and once more

Erect the standard there of ancient Night ;
Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.'

He is guided by the Anarch to the new World.

Thus Satan ; and him thus the Anarch old
With falt'ring speech and visage incompas'd
990 Answer'd. 'I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
'That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav'n's King, though over-
thrown.

I saw and heard, for such a num'rous host
Fled not in silence through the frighted deep
995 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded ; and Heav'n gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here
Keep residence ; if all I can will serve,
1000 'That little which is left so to defend.
Encroach't on still through our intestine broils
Weak'ning the sceptre of old Night : first Hell,
Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath ;
Now lately heav'n and earth, another World
1005 Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain
To that side Heav'n from whence your legions
fell :

If that way be your walk, you have not far
So much the nearer danger ; go and speed ;
Havock and spoil and ruin are my gain.'

*He continues his journey, until the World appears,
suspended from Heaven.*

- 1010 He ceas'd ; and Satan staid not to reply,
But glad that now his sea should find a shore,
With fresh alacrity and force renew'd
Springs upward like a pyramid of fire
Into the wild expanse ; and through the shock
1015 Of fighting elements, on all sides round
Environ'd wins his way ; harder beset
And more endanger'd, than when Argo pass'd
Through Bosphorus betwixt the justling rocks :
Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunn'd
1020 Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd.
So he with difficulty' and labour hard
Mov'd on, with difficulty' and labour he ;
But he once past, soon after when man fell,
Strange alteration ! Sin and Death amain
1025 Following his track, such was the will of Heav'n,
Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyss, whose boiling gulf
Tamely endur'd a bridge of wondrous length
From Hell continu'd, reaching th' utmost orb
1030 Of this frail World ; by which the spirits perverse
With easy intercourse pass to and fro
To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
God and good angels guard by special grace.
But now at last the sacred influence
1035 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heav'n

Shoots far into the bosom of dim night
A glimmering dawn ; here Nature first begins
Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire
As from her outmost works, a broken foe,
1040 With tumult less and with less hostile din ;
That Satan with less toil, and now with ease
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
And like a weather-beaten vessel holds
Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn ;
1045 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air,
Weighs his spread wings at leisure to behold
Far off th' empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
With opal towers and battlements adorn'd
1050 Of living sapphire, once his native seat ;
And fast by hanging in a golden chain
This pendent world, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.
Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,
1055 Accur'st, and in a cursed hour he hies.

NOTES

THE substance of many of these notes is borrowed from the editions of HUME, BENTLEY, NEWTON, TODD, KEIGHTLEY, MASSON, BROWNE, BRADSHAW. To each and all of these commentators my gratitude is due.

In quotations from Shakespeare I refer to the lines of the *Globe* edition.

Points of grammar may be profitably studied in Dr. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar* : those of metre in Mr. Robert Bridges' essay on *Milton's Prosody* (Oxford, 1893).

Line 2. *Ormus*, or Hormuz, a barren island in the Persian Gulf. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese established a market there, for their growing trade with the East, by the Cape of Good Hope route. It was also the centre of a pearl fishery. Bradshaw quotes a saying from Fryer's *Account of East India and Persia* (1676), v. 10 :—

‘If all the world were but one ring,
Ormus should the union (*i.e.* pearl) bring.’

Cf. also Marvell, *Bermudas*, ll. 17-20 :—

‘He hangs in shades the orange bright,
Like golden lamps in a green night;
And does in the pomegranate close
Jewels more rich than Ormus shows.’

There is a reminiscence of these seventeenth-century allusions in Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, xi. 2189:—

‘O those Olimpias bold, those Biancas brave,
That brought a husband power worth Ormuz’ wealth.’

In 1622 Ormus was taken from the Portuguese by the Persians, with the help of an English fleet. The affair is mentioned in Howell’s *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, i. 3. 11, 14. He speaks of Ormus as ‘the greatest mart in all the Orient for all sorts of Jewels.’

l. 4. *Show’rs*: apparently this word is to be taken literally. Cf. Shereef-el-deen’s *Life of Tamerlane* (tr. M. Petit de la Croix), ii. 1:—‘Les princes du sang royal et les émirs répandirent à pleines mains sur sa tête quantité d’or et de pierreries selon la coutume.’ Keightley quotes similar passages from Firdausi and *The Arabian Nights*. There may be an allusion to this custom in *Antony and Cleopatra*, ii.

5. 45:—

‘I’ll set thee in a shower of gold, and hail
Rich pearls upon thee.’

barbaric. The Hellenes called all non-Hellenic peoples ‘Barbarians.’ The nations with whom they were most in contact dwelt in Asia, and hence ‘Barbaric’ became equivalent to ‘Asiatic.’ In this sense the Latin writers use it. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii. 504:—

‘Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi,’

and viii. 685:—

‘Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis.’

Possibly, however, Milton meant the epithet to convey a condemnation of the ceremonial.

l. 5. *merit*, not merely ‘desert,’ but ‘good desert.’ I have pointed out in the Introduction (p. 7) that Satan is treated on a heroic level in the first two books. Apart from this, he is still raised above his fellows by his unconquerable spirit.

He is 'the undaunted Fiend' (l. 677). The reflection of his heavenly glory has not quite departed from him. He is still great, though he has put off goodness. He fell by pride and ambition, and these sustain him in the unequal conflict. So, in l. 429, Milton speaks of him as 'conscious of highest worth,' and says in l. 482 *sqq.* :—

'For neither do the spirits damned
Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
Their specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,
Or close ambition varnished o'er with zeal.'

Cf. also the description of Satan in i. 590 *sqq.*, and the scene in ix. 458 *sqq.* where he is shamed by the beauty of Eve :—

'That space the Evil One abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remained
Stupidly good, of enmity disarmed,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge.'

l. 6. *despair.* Cf. i. 123 :—

'Vaunting aloud, but racked with deep despair.'

l. 9. *success* etymologically means the 'outcome' or 'issue' of an action, whether 'good' or 'bad.' Modern usage generally confines it to 'good success.' For the radical sense, see l. 123 :—

'Seem to cast
Ominous conjecture on the whole success.'

Cf. also *Antony and Cleopatra*, iii. 5. 6 : and *All's Well*, iii. 6. 86 :—'I know not what the success will be, my lord, but the attempt I vow.'

l. 11. One can trace Milton's political experience in this debate among the infernal powers. Each takes up a well-defined position, and the later speakers, like skilled statesmen, carefully answer each other's points. Satan, after asserting his own dignity, propounds the issue thus. Is it to be Open War, or Covert Guile? There is a third alternative, Peace, which he does not himself suggest. The first

speaker, Moloch, declares for Open War; the next two for Peace, Belial dwelling chiefly on the dangers of resistance, Mammon on the advantages of submission. Finally Beelzebub proposes the middle course of Covert Guile, and this is accepted.

l. 11. *Powers and Dominions*. For an account of the various orders of Angels, see Mr. Beeching's note on i. 128. Descriptions of the ninefold Hierarchy are to be found in Dante, *Paradiso*, c. xxviii, and in Thomas Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635), iv. 9-42. Spenser also, in the *Faerie Queene*, i. 12. 39, speaks of

‘Many an angel’s voice
Singing before th’ eternall Majesty,
In their trinal triplicities on hye.’

Milton is not unaware of the subtle scholastic distinctions: in v. 748, the rebel angels pass

‘the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In their triple degrees:’

but he habitually uses the nine names, attracted by their sonorousness, without regard to strict theological propriety. Here the rebel host are addressed as ‘Dominions and Powers,’ in l. 310 as ‘Thrones and Imperial Powers,’ &c., &c. Satan, the leader of all, ranks only as an Archangel (i. 593; v. 660), yet he is the rightful superior of the other rebels, their ‘Potentate’:—

‘for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heaven’ (v. 706).

and Cherubim and Seraphim are his ministers (ll. 512, 516).

Deities of Heaven. Polytheistic language is put dramatically in the mouths of the devils. It is their theory that the kingdom of Heaven is by right a constitutional state, and not the absolute dominion of the Almighty. Him they re-

gard as a tyrant. See the speech of Satan in v. 772 *sqq.*; and his description of his allies in vi. 156 as :—

‘A third part of the Gods, in synod met
Their deities to assert.’

Milton, however, uses similar phrases in his own person. Sometimes, as when he speaks, in ix. 838, of ‘nectar, drink of Gods,’ this is due to classical reminiscences, but the pseudo-Dionysius (*De Caelesti Hierarchia*, xii. § 3) justifies the use of the title ‘God,’ in a sense, for the members of any angelic order. He quotes *Genesis* xxxii. 30; *Exodus* vii. 1; *Psalms* lxxxii. 6. It is a Platonic conception: Angels and even men, as Moses, are divine, in so far as they partake of divine qualities.

l. 12. *for*, i. e. ‘I say “of Heav’n” for.’

l. 13. *though oppressed and fallen* goes best perhaps with ‘immortal vigour,’ and not with ‘I.’

l. 15. *Celestial virtues*. The pseudo-Dionysius (*De C. H.* xi) explains this title as being common to all the Hierarchies, and not confined to that which it primarily denotes.

l. 16. *dread*, i. e. ‘dreadful.’ Cf. l. 510, ‘Hell’s dread emperor,’ and *Lear*, iv. 6. 57, ‘the dread summit of this chalky bourn.’

l. 18. On the position of Satan in Heaven, see the passages quoted in l. 11 *n.*

Me. The emphatic position of the word is a Latinism. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 5. 13:—

‘me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo.’

l. 20. *counsel*. Some modern editors read ‘council.’

l. 27. *whom*, i. e. ‘him whom.’ The omission of the demonstrative is a Latinism, common in Milton. See Mr.

Beeching's note on i. 196. It is much rarer in Shakespeare; cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 251. The best-known example is *Othello*, iii. 3. 157:—

'Who steals my purse, steals trash.'

l. 28. Milton transfers the epithet of 'Thunderer' from the pagan Zeus to the Almighty. He could justify himself from the language of *Psalms* xviii. 13; xxix. 3.

l. 33. *none*, i. e. 'there is none'—a good instance of Miltonic condensation. Bentley wished to read:—

'for none sure will claim in hell
Precedence, none. Whose portion is so small
Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
He'll covet more?'

l. 35. *this advantage*, i. e. the absence of envy.

l. 41. The phrase 'open force or hidden guyle' occurs in Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 11. 7; and, in vii. 6. 21, Jove bids the gods, besieged by Mutabilitie, consider how to defeat her:—

'Whether by open force, or counsel wise,
Areed, ye sons of God, as best ye can devise.'

l. 42. *Who*. Cf. l. 27 *n*.

l. 43. Milton preserves throughout the character of Moloch as the strongest and most impetuous of the fallen spirits. He is the Sungod or Baal of Phœnician worship. Cf. the description of him in i. 392-485, with Mr. Beeching's note. He is the personification of Hate, as Chemos of Lust (i. 417). His speech is for reckless, strenuous assault on the citadel of the Almighty.

Sceptered king. 'Moloch' means 'king.' He is called 'horrid king' (i. 392), 'furious king' (vi. 357), 'the grisly king' (*Od. Nat.* 209). 'Sceptered' is an *epitheton constans* in Homer—*σηκροῦχος βασιλεύς*.

l. 48. *that care*, i. e. the desire of life.

l. 50. *reck'd not*, i. e. 'cared nothing for'; cf. ix. 193; *Comus*, 404; *Lycidas*, 122.

thereafter, i. e. 'accordingly'; cf. *P. R.* ii. 320:—

“Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Wouldst't thou not eat?” “Thereafter as I like
The giver,” answered Jesus.

l. 51. *sentence*, a Latinism. The Roman Senators, when called on by the consul for their opinion, were said *dare sententiam*. So 'sentence' came to mean 'vote,' especially when supported by speech: cf. l. 291; 'Mammon ended and his sentence pleased.'

l. 59. The 'tyranny' of the Almighty is the note or watch-word of the angelic rebellion; cf. i. 122:—

‘Our grand Foe,
Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heav'n.’

Milton would appear to have been profoundly influenced by Aeschylus' tragedy of *Prometheus Vincetus*, in which the fettered Titan takes up a similar attitude of defiance towards the victorious ruler of Heaven. See, among other passages, *P. V.* 753:—

νῦν δ' οὐδέν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκείμενον
μόχθων, πρὶν ἂν Ζεὺς ἐκπέσῃ τυραννίδος.

('Now is there no goal set to my sufferings, until Zeus be overthrown from his tyranny.')

l. 63. *horrid*. On Milton's use of this word, see Mr. Beeching's note to i. 563. Here the senses of 'bristling' and 'exciting horror' are combined.

l. 65. *almighty engine*, i. e. the thunder of heaven, or perhaps more precisely, the 'fierce chariot' in which the Son of God, 'grasping ten thousand thunders,' effected the final rout

of Satan's host on the third day of battle. For the 'noise' of it, cf. vi. 749:—

'Forth rushed with whirlwind sound
The chariot of Paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel.'

In this sat the Son:—

'Beside him hung his bow,
And quiver, with three-bolted thunder stored;
And from about him fierce effusion rolled
Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire.'

The chariot is of course the thunder-cloud. 'He maketh the clouds his chariot and walketh upon the wings of the wind.'

Here again a parallel occurs in the threats of Prometheus against Zeus; cf. *P. V.* 919:—

τοῖον παλαιστὴν νῦν παρασκευάζεται
ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ, δυσμαχώτατον τέρας·
ὅς δ' ἡ κεραυνοῦ κρείσσον' εἰρήσει φλόγα
βροντῆς θ' ὑπερβάλλοντα καρτερὸν κτύπον.

('Such a wrestler is he even now making ready against himself, a wonder he shall not subdue, who shall find a flame more potent than lightning, and a sound that shall out-thunder the thunder.')

l. 69. The fires of the throne of the Almighty are to be mixed with the 'strange' or 'alien' fires of Hell.

Tartarean. Tartarus, in classical mythology, was that part of the lower world in which the incurably wicked were punished. Cf. *Aeneid*, vi. 548 *sqq.* Milton, in the true Renaissance spirit, uses it as a synonym for Hell.

l. 70. *His own invented torments*, i. e. 'the torments that he has himself invented.'

l. 72. *upright*, i. e. 'in upward flight.'

l. 73. *sleepy drench*, i. e. 'drench that causes sleep.' So in

the next line 'forgetful lake.' Cf. also 'mortal sting' (l. 653), 'mortal dart' (l. 729), 'mortal taste' (i. 2), 'oblivious pool' (i. 266), and, in earlier poets, Chaucer, *C. T.* 1389, of Mercury's caduceus, 'His sleepy yerde in hand he held upright'; and *Macbeth*, v. 3. 43, 'some sweet oblivious antidote.' In Elizabethan English—a fluid transitional state of the language—almost any relation between two nouns could be expressed by making one into an adjective of the other.

l. 74. *forgetful lake*. There is an evident allusion here to the lake or river of Lethe, in Hades, in which the spirits of the dead drank oblivion of the past. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* p. 621; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 703 *sqq.* But in ll. 582-614 Lethe is described as a river of hell, of whose waters the damned are forbidden to drink.

There is a parallel use of the word 'forgetful' (cf. l. 73) in Tennyson, *In Mem.* xxxv. 4:—

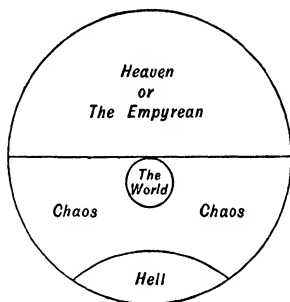
'And Love would answer with a sigh,
The sound of that forgetful shore
Will change my sweetness more and more,
Half dead to know that I shall die.'

l. 75. *proper*, i.e. 'natural' or 'normal'—the Lucretian *proprio motu*. Early natural philosophers believed that certain things have, instead of gravity, a property of positive levity, a tendency to rise instead of falling. Thus only could they explain how 'the sparks fly upwards.' Bacon shared this view. Cf. *Novum Organum*, ii. 35.

l. 76. *descent and fall . . . is adverse*. Cf. Mr. Beeching's note on i. 139. 'Descent and fall' express a single notion. But in Elizabethan English plural nouns often take a singular verb. See Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 333.

l. 79. *the deep*, i.e. Chaos, the lower half of Space, of which Heaven, or the Empyrean, is the upper half. After the fall of the Angels, Hell was set in the bottom of Chaos, while the World was suspended in it, like a ball, from the rim of

Heaven. Chaos is described in ll. 890 *sqq.* of this book ; the rout of the angels in vi. 853 *sqq.* There is an excellent essay on Milton's Cosmology in Masson's *Library Edition* of the Poems, vol. ii. pp. 77 *sqq.* and a shorter account in his *Globe Edition*, pp. 19 *sqq.* from which this diagram is borrowed.



l. 82. *event*, i. e. 'outcome.' Cf. i. 624 :—

'that strife
Was not inglorious, though the event was dire.'

Tennyson uses the word in a very similar sense in the closing lines of *In Memoriam* :—

'one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.'

l. 87. *utter* has in Milton both the sense of 'outer,' and that of 'entire,' 'unmitigated,' which, except in the phrase 'the utter Bar,' it always bears now. Either would do here, but the less modern use seems favoured by the parallel passage, vi. 715 :—

'drive them out
From all Heaven's bounds into the utter Deep.'

Cf. Mr. Beeching's note on i. 72, 'utter darkness.'

l. 89. *exercise*, i. e. 'torment.' Cf. *P. R. i.* 115:—

' But first I mean
To exercise him in the Wilderness.'

This is a common sense of the Latin *exercere*. Thus in Virgil,
Aen. vi. 739:—

'Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt.'

and *Georg. iv.* 453:—

'Non te nullius exercent numinis irac.'

Both Virgil and Milton use the word of sufferings inflicted by a Deity.

l. 90. *The vassals of his anger*. Bentley wanted to read *vessels*. He quoted *Romans ix.* 22, 'the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction.' But the reading of all the early editions is supported by the phrase 'our state of splendid vassalage' in l. 251, by the term 'thralls' similarly applied in i. 148, by the general attitude of the rebels to the Conqueror (cf. l. 59 *n.*), and by the parallel in Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, ll. 125, 6:—

'Ah wretched world! and all that is therein,
The vassals of God's wrath, and slaves of sin.'

l. 91. *Inexorably*. This is the reading of the early editions. *Inexorable* is a modern emendation, and unnecessary.

torturing hour; Shakespeare's phrase in *M. N. Dream*, v. i. 36:—

'Is there no play
To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?'

The idea of intermittent torture in the next world occurs also in *Hamlet*, i. 5. 2:—

'My hour is almost come,
When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames
Must render up myself.'

The present lines doubtless inspired those in Gray's *Hymn to Adversity* :—

‘Daughter of Jove, relentless power,
Thou tamer of the human breast,
Whose iron scourge and torturing hour
The bad affright, afflict the best.’

l. 92. *More destroyed than thus*, i. e. ‘if we were more destroyed than thus.’ Milton has the Latin habit of expressing every kind of subordinate sentence by means of participles. Cf. l. 70, ‘his own invented torments,’ and l. 52, ‘more unexpert,’ i. e. ‘Since I am more unexpert.’

l. 94. For examples of the use of ‘what’ for ‘why,’ cf. l. 329, and see Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 253.

l. 97. *essential*. The adjective is put for the substantive, ‘essence’; i. e. ‘this existing, living spirit.’ Cf. l. 278, ‘the sensible (for ‘sense’) of pain’; and ix. 483, ‘intellectual’ (for ‘intellect’); also l. 406 *n.*

These lines are a good example of Milton’s compressed phraseology. Fully expanded, they would run, ‘And such a fate would leave us far happier than if we existed eternally in misery.’ For the conception, compare the myth of Tithonus and his perpetual old age, as Tennyson describes him, ‘this grey shadow, once a man,’ who asked for immortality, and forgot to ask for youth, and so—

‘thy strong Hours indignant worked their wills
And beat me down and marr’d and wasted me,
And tho’ they could not end me, left me maim’d
To dwell in presence of immortal youth,
Immortal age beside immortal youth
And all I was, in ashes.’

Until he comes to share the thought of Milton’s devil, and to envy—

‘happy men that have the power to die,
And grassy barrows of the happier dead.’

l. 98. Cf. Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 748 :—

κρείσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν
ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

(‘Far better is it to die once for all, than to live every day in misery.’)

l. 100. ‘We have reached the extreme point of misery that is compatible with continued existence.’

l. 104. *fatal*, i.e. ‘unassailable because resting on the decrees of fate.’ Cf. l. 131, where Beelzebub boasts how the rebels had—

‘endangered Heaven’s perpetual King,
And put to proof his high supremacy,
Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate.’

But this is the devil’s view, not Milton’s. Cf. vii. 172 :—

‘Necessity and Chance
Approach not me, and what I will is Fate.’

l. 106. *denounced*, almost equivalent to ‘announced,’ but always with an added idea of evil. Cf. xi. 815 :—

‘denouncing wrath to come
On their impenitence.’

l. 107. *dangerous*, i.e. ‘that would have been dangerous.’

l. 109. *Belial*, the incarnate spirit of wantonness. His character and his speech, counselling submission and ignoble ease, are in dramatic contrast to those of Moloch. The phrase ‘Sons of Belial’ occurs in the Bible (1 *Sam.* ii. 12, &c.), but the name is not that of a heathen divinity: it is a Hebrew word signifying ‘worthlessness.’ See Bk. i. ll. 490–505, with Mr. Beeching’s note on the passage.

act, i.e. ‘demeanour.’ Cf. ix. 667 :—

‘New part put on, and, as to passion moved,
Fluctuates disturbed, yet comely, and in act
Raised, as of some great matter to begin.’

l. 109. *humane*, i.e. 'refined,' 'cultivated.' This is the sense of the Ciceronian *humanitas*, preserved in the modern Oxford phrase *Literae Humaniores*. Cf. *Othello*, ii. 1. 243, 'the mere form of civil and humane seeming.' Milton uses the word again in ix. 732, where the devil says to Eve—

'Goddess humane, reach, then, and freely taste.'

and in *P. R.* i. 221, of Christ, who—

'held it more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear.'

In each context the root-meaning is the same—'displaying the *highest* qualities of humanity.'

l. 113. *Dropt manna*. Manna was the heavenly food of *Exodus* xvi. 31, which 'was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.' The commentators quote Homer, *Iliad* i. 249:—

τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδῆ.

('He from whose tongue flowed speech sweeter than honey.')

and *Merch. of Venice*, v. 1. 294:—

'Fair ladies, you drop manna in the way
Of starving people.'

could make the worse appear The better reason. So Socrates was said by his accusers—see Plato, *Apology*, p. 19 B—to go about τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν, 'making the worse argument appear the better,' like a true Sophist.

l. 119. *Peers*, the 'grand Infernal Peers' of l. 507, the 'great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim' of i. 794. The word is a natural reminiscence of Milton's Parliamentary experience. In *Eikonoklastes*, § 8, he speaks of the 'besotted and dangerous baseness of spirit of the English nobles.'

l. 121. *Main reason*, i.e. the argument of ll. 94-101, that

the rebels were already 'at worst on this side nothing,' the counsels of despair.

l. 122. I. e. 'and seem to be of bad omen, leading one to conjecture ill for the outcome of the whole enterprise.'

l. 123. *success*. Cf. note on l. 9.

l. 124. The construction is irregular. The whole clause from 'When' to 'dire revenge' is explanatory of 'what was urged Main reason.'

he who most excels, i. e. Moloch, who had confessed himself in ll. 51, 52, to be 'of wiles more unexpert.'

l. 131. *the bordering deep*, i. e. the part of Chaos described in ll. 1034 *sqq.*, where the lights of Heaven shoot 'a glimmering dawn.'

l. 139. *ethereal*. Cf. Mr. Beeching's note on i. 45.

mould, i. e. 'form' or 'nature.' Cf. l. 355.

l. 141. *Her*. Milton hardly ever uses the form 'its.' Cf. Mr. Beeching's note on i. 176, and Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* §§ 228, 229, where it is pointed out that Milton prefers 'her' to 'his,' as the possessive form of the neuter pronoun.

l. 142. *Thus repulsed*. The use of a participial clause in a conditional sense (= 'if we are thus repulsed') is a Latinism. Cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 377.

Cf. 3 *Hen. VI*, ii. 3. 9: 'Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair.'

l. 143. *flat*, i. e. 'unrelieved.' Cf. *Much Ado*, iv. 2. 44: 'This is flat perjury, to call a prince's brother a villain.'

l. 146. Cf. the speech of Claudio in *Meas. for Meas.* iii. 1. 118 *sqq.*:—

' 'tis too horrible!

The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That age, ache, penury and imprisonment
Can lay on nature is a paradise
To what we fear of death.'

l. 150. *uncreated night*. Cf. vii. 220, 'Chaos and the World unborn'; iii. 708 *sqq.*, and ll. 890 *sqq.* of this book. But Milton's

Chaos and Night are not mere space; they contain the confused elements of the material world: and according to *Genesis* they were created. See *Gen.* i. 1, 2: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.' Milton's conception implies the existence of at least the elements of matter before the Creation. See his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* (ed. Bohn), Bk. i. ch. 7, p. 179.

l. 156. *Belike* is sarcastic, in the sense of the Latin *scilicet impotence*, not 'weakness,' as opposed to omnipotence, but rather 'passion,' in the sense of the Latin *impotens sui*.

l. 160. *decreed . . . reserved . . . destined*. Notice the use of the technical terms of Calvinistic theology. Milton believes in Election, but not in Reprobation: that is, he believes that some men are 'decreed,' &c., to salvation, but not that any are in like manner shut out. Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, Bk. i. chh. 3, 4. But of the fallen angels he says in ch. 9: 'Their knowledge is great, but such as tends rather to aggravate than diminish their misery; so that they utterly despair of their salvation.'

l. 165. *amain*, cf. l. 1024. The word is a general intensive, but used especially with words of motion.

strook. Milton seems to have preferred this form of the word to 'struck.' In *Od. Nat.* 95, it is made to rhyme to 'took.' The curious form 'strucken' occurs in ix. 1064.

l. 170. Cf. *Isaiah* xxx. 33: 'The breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.'

l. 174. *red right hand*. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 2. 1:—

'Jam satis terris nivis atque dirae
Grandinis misit Pater, et rubente
Dextera sacras jaculatus arces
Terruit urbem.'

l. 177. *impudent*, literally; the roof of Hell was a 'huge convex of fire' (l. 434).

l. 180. Several passages in earlier authors may have given Milton the idea of these tortures. The punishment of Ajax Oileus by Pallas is thus described in *Aeneid* i. 44 :—

‘Illum, expirantem transfixo pectore flammæ,
Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto.’

In *Aen.* vi. 75, Virgil speaks of prophecies as ‘turbata . . . rapidis ludibria ventis’; and in *Aen.* vi. 740, he describes the purification of spirits in Hades :—

‘Aliae panduntur inanes
Suspensae ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.’

In Dante’s *Inferno*, Carnal Sinners, who inhabit the Second Circle, are tossed in an eternal whirlwind (c. v.) : while the Violent, in the Seventh Circle, are exposed to a rain of fire (c. xiv.). Cf. also *Meas. for Meas.* iii. 1. 124 :—

‘To be imprisoned in the viewless winds
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world.’

l. 184. *converse with*, i.e. ‘dwell with,’ in sense of Latin *conversari*. Milton generally uses the word in the modern sense. In the phrase ‘converse with solitude’ (*P. R.* i. 190), it may bear either.

l. 185. *Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved*. Milton is fond of such collocations. He has :—

‘Unprevented, unimplored, unsought’ (iii. 231);
‘Immutable, immortal, infinite’ (iii. 373);
‘Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified’ (v. 899);
‘Defaced, deflowered, and now to death devote’ (ix. 901);
‘Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreformed’ (*P. R.* iii. 429).

In a prose work, *Reformation*, Bk. ii, occurs the following :
‘A bishop should be undiocesed, unreverenced, unlorded.’

Similar uses can be quoted from Milton’s predecessors. Thus in *Faerie Queene*, vii. 7. 46 :—

‘Unbodied, unsoul’d, unheard, unseene;’

in Daniel, *Civil Wars*, ii. 52 :—

‘Uncourted, unrespected, unbeyed ;’

in Peele, *David and Bathsheba*,

‘Unkind, unmanly and unprincely Ammon.’

A later instance may be found in Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*, 258 :—

‘Unenvied, unmolested, unconfined.’

Much finer, to my mind, is the varied cadence of *Hamlet*, i. 5. 77 :—

‘Unhouselled, disappointed, unaneled,’

where various commentators have proposed to read ‘un-anointed’ (Pope), ‘unappointed’ (Theobald), ‘unassoiled’ (Hunter).

It is, however, from the Greek tragic poets that the tradition of such lines comes. Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 666 :—

ἐλέναυς, ἐλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις

(‘Ship’s Hell, Man’s Hell, City’s Hell,’ tr. Browning), and Soph. *Antig.* 876 :—

ἀκλαντος, ἀφίλος, ἀνυμέναιος

(‘unwept, unfriended, unbridegroomed’).

Mr. Bradshaw quotes also Eurip. *Hecuba*, 664, and *Orestes*, 310.

l. 186. *Ages of hopeless end*, i. e. ‘ages an end to which is beyond hope.’

l. 188. *can*, i. e. ‘can do.’ The original meaning of ‘can’ was ‘know.’ Cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 307 : and Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v.

l. 191. Cf. *Psalms*, ii. 4, ‘He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh : the Lord shall have them in derision.’

l. 201. I. e. ‘we considered whether it were wise to undertake so doubtful a contest against so great a foe, and the

resolution then come to implied a readiness to suffer if we failed.'

l. 203. *fall*, i. e. 'fall out,' 'be the outcome.'

l. 207. For the rhythm of this line, cf. l. 564 :—

'Passion and apathy, and glory and shame,'

and l. 558 :—

'Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain.'

l. 212. *not offending*. The participle stands for a conditional clause, 'if we do not offend'; cf. l. 142 *n*.

l. 213. *what is punished*, i. e. 'the punishment already inflicted.'

l. 215. *purser essence*. Cf. the descriptions of the nature of angels in v. 404 *sqq.*, 469 *sqq.*; vi. 344 *sqq.*; viii. 620 *sqq.* They are spoken of as 'pure intelligential substances' (v. 407); and again (vi. 350) :—

'All heart they live. all head, all eye, all ear,
All intellect, all sense; and as they please
They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size
Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.'

Milton accepts the Aristotelian doctrine of grades of being. Things are made (v. 472) of—

'one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
But more refined, more spirituous and pure,
As nearer to him placed or nearer tending,' &c., &c.

l. 216. *inured*, i. e. 'grown used to': cf. xi. 362, 'inured by moderation either state to bear.'

l. 221. *what hope*. The relative is used indefinitely, in the sense of 'any hope.' Cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 255.

l. 223. *waiting*, i. e. 'waiting for': cf. note on omission of preposition in l. 409.

l. 224. *for ill*, i. e. 'seeing that it is ill.'

l. 226. Cf. *Comus*, 759, 'false rules pranked in reason's garb.'

l. 227. *ignoble ease*. Virgil speaks of himself in *Georg.* iv. 564, as 'studiis florentem ignobilis oti.'

l. 228. *Mammon*; the personification of the lust of wealth, 'the least erected spirit that fell' (i. 679). Cf. the passage, with Mr. Beeching's note upon it.

l. 232. I. e. 'when the reign of Law is annulled.' The strife may be between Fate and Chance, or between God and the rebel Angels. Fate, for Milton, is the will of the Almighty: cf. Mr. Beeching's note on i. 133. Cf. l. 150 *n.*, and the account of Chaos in ll. 890 *sqq.*

l. 234. *the former*, i. e. 'to disenthroned the king of Heaven,' while 'the latter' is 'to regain our own right lost.'

argues, i. e. 'proves'; cf. iv. 830:—

'not to know me argues yourselves unknown.'

l. 245. *ambrosial*. As in l. 28, Milton attributes Olympian attributes to the Almighty. So in v. 426:—

'In Heaven the trees
Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
Yield nectar.'

l. 252. *Splendid vassalage*. This is an Oxymoron, which the grammarians define as 'a contrast by juxtaposition of opposite conceptions'; cf. l. 142, 'Our final hope is flat despair,' and—

'Dishonest shame
Of Nature's works, honour dishonourable.'

iii. 380:—

'Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear.'

viii. 42:—

'With lowliness majestic from her seat . . . rose.'

x. 788 :—

‘I shall die a living death.’

x. 891 :—

‘This novelty on earth, this fair defect
Of Nature.’

Examples of Oxymoron from other poets are :—

Aesch. *P. V.* 542 :—

φέρ' ὅπως ἀχαρις χάρις, ὦ φίλος.

(‘Behold, my friend, a beauty that is not fair.’)

Soph. *Ajax*, 665 :—

ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα.

(‘the gifts of foes that are no gifts.’)

Horace, *Carm.* iii. 11, 35 :—

‘Splendide mendax, et in omne virgo
Nobilis aevum.’

Daniel, *Cleopatra*, 1001 :—

‘Then wretched greatness, proud rich misery,
Pompous distress, glittering calamity.’

And *Philotas*, 224 :—

‘Faith against my faith
Must not be kept. My falsehood here is truth.’

Shakespeare, *Rom. and Jul.* i. 1. 182 :—

‘Why, then, O brawling love! O loving hate!
O any thing, of nothing first create!
O heavy lightness! serious vanity!
Misshapen chaos of well-seeming forms!
Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health!
Still-waking sleep, that is not what it is!’

Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine* :—

‘His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.’

Shakespeare has satirised the conceit in *M. N. Dream*,
v. 1. 56:—

‘A tedious brief scene of young Pyramus and his
love Thisbe; very tragical mirth.

Merry and tragical! tedious and brief!

That is, hot ice, and wonderous strange snow.

How shall we find the concord of this discord?’

l. 253. *from our own*, i.e., ‘on our own resources.’

l. 254. *live to ourselves*. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* xviii. 107:—

‘Mihi vivam

Quod superest aevi.’

And Persius, *Sat.* iv. 52:—

‘Tecum habita, et noris, quam sit tibi curta supellex.

l. 256. Cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 967:—

κρείσσον γὰρ οἶμαι τῇδε λατρεύειν πέτρῃ

ἢ πατρὶ φῦναι Ζηνὶ πιστὸν ἄγγελον.

(‘Better I deem it to be a slave to this rock, than to live a faithful servant to Father Zeus.’)

l. 264. *Heaven’s all-ruling Sire*. There is a half-identification of the Almighty with the Sun, but Milton probably had in his mind such passages as *Ps.* xviii. 11, ‘He made darkness his secret place: his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies.’ Cf. also *Ps.* xcvi. 2; *1 Kings* viii. 12.

There is a parallel simile in *1 Hen. IV.* i. 2. 221:—

‘Yet herein will I imitate the sun

Who doth permit the base contagious clouds

To smother up his beauty from the world.’

In Milton’s copy of Browne’s *Britannia’s Pastorals* (now in the Huth Library) he has annotated some lines in Bk. i. Song 1:—

‘But as cleare Phoebus, when some foggy cloud

His brightnesse from the world a while doth shroud.’

Cf. W. C. Hazlitt’s ed. of Browne, *Memoir*, p. xx sqq.

l. 274. *torments . . . elements*. Notice the jingle. There is a worse one in vi. 656, 'Their armour helped their harm.' Cf. Mr. Beeching's note on i. 642.

l. 278. *sensible*, i.e. 'sense,' cf. l. 97 *n*.

l. 280. *how* and the clause it introduces depend upon 'counsels.'

l. 282. *where*. So ed. 1; ed. 2 reads 'were.'

l. 283. *Ye have what I advise*. So the herald's speech in Aesch. *Ag.* 560 ends with a πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον ('Thou hast my whole story').

l. 284. Milton pauses and introduces a simile, to mark a critical point in the debate, the intervention of Beelzebub. Homer, in *Iliad* ii. 144, compares the tumultuous rising of an assembly to the awaking of a storm, but Milton has rather the last murmurs of it in his mind. There is a closer parallel in Claudian, *Ad Rufinum*, i. 70 :—

'Dissensuque alitur rumor: ceu murmurat alti
Impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
Durat adhuc sacvitque tumor, dubiumque per aestum
Lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti.'

l. 288. *O'er watched*, i.e. 'outwearied with watching.' Cf. *S. A.* 405, 'over-watched and wearied out.'

l. 291. *sentence*; cf. l. 51 *n*.

l. 294. The prowess of Michael is described in Bk. vi. *passim*. He is 'of celestial armies prince' (vi. 44). Milton took a hint from *Rev.* xii. 7: 'And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon.' In xi. 126, Michael is sent to drive Adam and Eve from Eden, and prophesy of the future to them. Jewish tradition makes Michael the chief of the archangels and the especial guardian of the Hebrew race (cf. *Dan.* x. 13; *Jude* 9). He is also often identified with the Messiah.

l. 299. *Beelzebub*. Satan's lieutenant, 'One next himself in power, and next in crime' (i. 79). No doubt he is the

unnamed subordinate, to whom Satan imparts his plans of rebellion in v. 671. Cf. Mr. Beeching's note on i. 79.

l. 302. *pillar of state*. Cf. 2 *Hen.* VI. i. 1. 75:—

'Brave peers of England, pillars of the state.'

l. 306. *Atlantean*, i.e. 'gigantic.' Atlas was a Titan, who bore the weight of Heaven upon his shoulders. Cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 347:—

καὶ κασιγνήτου τύχαι
τείρουσ' Ἀτλαντος, ὃς πρὸς ἐσπέρους τόπους
ἔστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς
ὤμοιν ἐρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον.

('It vexes me too, the ill fate of my brother Atlas, who in the westward land stands bearing upon his shoulders the pillar of heaven and earth, a burden hard to sustain.')

l. 315. *doubtless* represents the Latin sarcastic *scilicet*: cf. l. 156, 'belike.'

l. 327. *iron sceptre . . . golden*. Cf. v. 886,—Abdiel is speaking to Satan:—

'That golden sceptre which thou didst reject
Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
Thy disobedience.'

The phrase 'rod of iron' for the divine rule is Scriptural. Cf. *Ps.* ii. 9; *Rev.* ii. 27. In Greek mythology, the bolts of Cupid were tipped with gold for a fortunate, lead for an unfortunate love. Hermia, in *M. N. D.* i. i. 170, swears by Cupid's 'best arrow with the golden head.'

l. 329. *what*, i.e. 'why': cf. l. 94 *n.*

l. 330. *determined us*, i.e. 'limited our power': cf. xi. 227:—

'Eve, now expect great tidings, which, perhaps,
Of us will soon determine, or impose
New laws to be observed.'

l. 331. *terms . . . sought*. Note the omission of an auxiliary verb.

l. 331. *none*; cf. iv. 703:—

‘Other creature here,
Beast, bird, insect, or worm, durst enter none.’

l. 333. *but* does not introduce a kind of peace, but a new idea opposed to peace: so too in l. 336 Cf. the similar use of ‘except’ in l. 678: also Plautus, *Menaechmi*, Prol. 59 ‘Ei liberorum, nisi divitiae, nihil erat.’

And Dante, *Inf.* iii. 7:—

‘Dinanzi a me non fur cose create,
Se non eterne.’

(‘Before me created things were not, save those eternal.’) Keightley quotes a similar use from Milton’s prose—‘No place in Heaven or Earth, except Hell, where Charity may not enter.’

l. 336. *to our power*, i.e. ‘to the extent of our power.’

l. 349. Cf. *Ps.* viii. 5, ‘Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels.’

l. 352. *by an oath . . . confirmed*: cf. *Hebr.* vi. 17, ‘God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath.’

l. 353. *shook Heaven’s whole circumference*. In *Iliad* i. 530, the nod of Zeus μέγαν ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον (‘made the mighty Olympus to quiver’). Cf. *Aen.* ix. 104, ‘Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.’ On the transference of Olympian attributes to the Almighty, see ll. 28 *n.*, 245 *n.*

l. 361. *left to their defence who hold it*. Eden is guarded by angels (l. 412), but it is assailable through man’s free-will. Cf. the doctrine of iii. 96 *sqq.*

l. 367. *puny*. Perhaps with an allusion to the radical sense—*puisné, post natus*: Man is ‘God’s latest image’ (iv. 567).

l. 369. Cf. *Gen.* vi. 7, ‘I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man and beast, and

the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.'

l. 375. *originals*. So ed. 1: ed. 2 has *original*. 'Original' would mean simply 'origin': 'originals' is rather 'elements,' 'nature,' 'composition': as in vi. 511:—

'The originals of Nature in their crude
Conception.'

l. 376. *advise*, i. e. 'consider,' in the sense of the French *aviser*: cf. v. 729, 'Let us advise.' The use is found in Shakespeare; as *Rom. and Jul.* iii. 5. 192, 'Lay hand on heart, advise.'

l. 380. In i. 650, Satan hints at the scheme now propounded by Beelzebub.

l. 386. *His glory to augment*. Milton's object is to 'justify the ways of God to men' (i. 26); setting forth the Mercy as well as the Justice of the Almighty, in decreeing Man's Salvation as well as his Punishment. See iii. 213 *sqq.*; xii. 360 *sqq.* But *Paradise Regained* was necessary for the working out of the idea in due balance.

l. 387. *States*, i. e. 'nobles': cf. 'Peers' in l. 507. Whitney (*Century Dict.* s.v.) quotes from Hexham (1660), 'The twelve Pceres or States of the kingdome of France.'

l. 391. *Synod*. Milton designedly applies to the assembly of devils terms proper to Catholic or Prelatical councils: so he uses 'conclave' in i. 795, 'consistory' in *P. R.* i. 42.

like to what ye are, i. e. 'as you are yourselves great.'

l. 396. *chance*. Here, and in l. 492, this word may be taken either as verb or adverb. Cf. *Much Ado*, ii. 3. 244, 'I may chance have some odd quirks and remnants of wit broken on me,' and Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 37.

l. 397. Beelzebub's hope is in part fulfilled. After Man's fall, the devils are permitted to range over the Earthly

Universe (cf. x. 467). So in *P. R.* i. 362, Satan claims that he is—

‘to that hideous place not so confined
By rigour unconniving, but that oft
Leaving my dolorous prison I enjoy
Large liberty to round this globe of Earth
Or range in the Air; nor from the Heaven of Heavens
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.’

And in *P. R.* ii. 117 the infernal council is held in ‘the middle region of thick air’; its members, dwelling in ‘mild seats,’ have become ‘Demonian Spirits,’ and ‘Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth beneath.’

l. 404. *tempt*, i. e. ‘try,’ ‘attempt.’

l. 406. *palpable obscure*; so in xii. 188, ‘palpable darkness,’ the ‘darkness which may be felt’ of *Exod.* x. 21. The Vulgate version of this is ‘tam densae ut palpari queant.’

For the use of ‘obscure’ as a substantive—a Latinism—cf. l. 409, ‘vast abrupt,’ and l. 97 *n*.

l. 407. *uncouth*, in the radical sense of ‘unknown,’ ‘strange.’ ‘Couth’ is the participle of A.S. *cunnan*, ‘to know,’ whence also ‘can’ (l. 188). See Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s.v. ‘Can.’

For this use, cf. l. 827; viii. 230, and Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* Sept. 59:—

‘To leave the good, that I had in hande
In hope of better that was uncouth.’

The more modern derived sense of the word may perhaps occur in *Lyc.* 186:—

‘Thus sang the uncouth swain to the oaks and rills.’

l. 408. *indefatigable wings*. Thyer quotes Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* i. 14, on the wings of Gabriel, ‘Indefaticabilmente agili e preste.’

l. 409. *vast abrupt*. Cf. l. 406 *n*. On ‘vast,’ see Mr. Beeching’s note to i. 177.

arrive for ‘arrive at.’ The preposition is frequently

omitted after verbs of motion both by Milton and Shakespeare. Cf. l. 223, 'waiting (for),' and Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 198.

l. 410. *isle*. Cf. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* ii. 66, 'Quasi magnam quandam insulam quam nos orbem terrae vocamus.' But Milton's 'isle' is not the Earth hanging in a sea of air, but the whole Universe suspended in Chaos: cf. l. 1051, and the fuller description of the 'opacous globe' in iii. 418.

l. 414. *wee*. Ed. I has 'we,' which is corrected in the List of Errata, in the later copies of that edition, probably for emphasis.

l. 420. *all sat mute*. So in the parallel scene in iii. 217, before the offer of the Son of God to become intercessor for Man:—

'He asked, but all the Heavenly Quire sat mute,
And silence was in Heaven.'

In *Iliad* vii. 92, when Hector's challenge to single combat is laid before the Greeks, and finally accepted by Menelaus:—

ὣς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ·
αἰδέσθην μὲν ἀνήρασθαι, δέϊσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι.

('So spake he, and they all were silent, and held the peace; to deny him they were ashamed, and feared to meet him.' tr. Leaf, Lang, Myers.)

l. 429. *Conscious of highest worth*. On the 'merit' of Satan, see l. 5 n.

unmoved. Clearly Newton interprets this rightly as 'undisturbed.' Masson would have it mean 'unsolicited'; and Bradshaw, comparing l. 466, 'without rising.'

l. 430. *empyreal*. See l. 79 n., and Mr. Beeching's note on i. 45.

l. 432. *Long is the way . . . etc.* This is a stock Epic phrase. Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 288, of ἀπὲρῇ:—

μακρὸς δὲ ὕρθιος ὁδὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχύς

('Long and steep is the path unto it, and rough thereto'):

and Virg. *Aen.* vi. 128:—

‘facilis descensus Averno;
Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis:
Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.’

And Dante, *Inf.* c. xxxiv. 95:—

‘I.a via e lunga, e il cammino e malvaggio.’
(‘The way is long, and the path a hard one.’)

l. 434. *convex*. From Hell it would rather appear as a ‘fiery concave’ (i. 635), but in Satan’s imagination he is already outside. Cf. the further description of ‘Hell-bounds’ in l. 644 *sqq.*

l. 436. *Ninefold*. Nine has always been a mystic number. Styx flowed nine times round Virgil’s grove of Suicides (*Aen.* vi. 439). Cf. the curious passage on the number nine in Dante’s *Vita Nuova* (tr. Rossetti, p. 77); and also Mr. Beeching’s note to i. 50.

gates of . . . adamant; cf. *Aen.* vi. 552, ‘Porta adversa, ingens, solidoque adamante columnae.’ On ‘adamant,’ see Mr. Beeching’s note to i. 48.

l. 438. *void profound*, the ‘inane profundum’ of Lucretius.

l. 439. *unessential Night*, i.e. ‘night that has no real being, or essence.’ In *P. R.* iv. 399, Darkness and Night are described as:—

‘unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day.’

Cf. l. 150 *n.*

l. 441. *abortive*, i.e. ‘yielding nothing.’ In l. 911 Chaos is called ‘the womb of Nature.’

l. 444. *as hard*, as his escape from Chaos.

l. 445. Cf. l. 27 *sqq.* and *P. R.* ii. 463:—

‘For therein stands the office of a king,
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.’

Sarpedon in *Iliad* xii. 310 expresses similar sentiments.

l. 457. *intend*, i. e. 'consider,' in the sense of the Latin 'intendere animum.'

l. 462. *ill mansion*. The phrase recurs in vi. 738: cf. also for the use of the adjective, iv. 932, 'Hard assays and ill successes past.'

mansion. See Mr. Beeching's note on i. 268.

l. 467. *prevented*: almost in the modern derivative sense of 'hindered.' The radical sense is 'went before'—the Latin 'praevenire,'—as in the Prayer-book phrases 'prevent and follow us,' 'prevent us in all our doings,' and *Od. Nat.* 24, 'Oh! run; prevent them with thy humble ode.'

l. 468. *from his resolution raised*. I am not sure whether 'raised' goes with 'others among the chief,' in which case 'from' = 'by'; or whether the phrase is participial and parallel to 'since created man,' in i. 573. Cf. Mr. Beeching's note *ad loc.* and add to his passages x. 331 'after Eve seduced.'

l. 476. Notice the fine touch in the 'remoteness' of the thunder, and compare the simile in l. 283 *sqq.* Milton often refines in this way upon stock epic ideas.

l. 478. *awful*, not actively, 'causing awe,' but passively 'feeling awe.'

l. 482. *neither* introduces the reference to men, an instance of Milton's didactic spirit. On the 'virtue' of devils, see l. 5 n.

l. 483. *lest* explains the reason for the last remark—'I say this, lest.' Cf. the use of 'for' in l. 12.

l. 484. *specious*, i. e. 'with an outward show (the Latin *species*) of virtue.'

l. 485. *close*, i. e. 'secret.'

l. 488. Notice that ll. 488-495 form a 'period' in verse, a complicated structure of clauses, built on the model of Milton's Latinised prose style.

These lines also serve as a good instance of Milton's way of looking at Nature. He is sensible to its charm, but can only find expression for it in conventional epithets and

phrases; whereas Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Meredith are all Interpreters of Nature, revealing new and unsuspected aspects of its beauty to ordinary men. For other characteristic passages, see iv. 131, 252, 598, 689; vii. 310; ix. 424. Cf. also *Introduction*, p. 9.

l. 489. *while the North wind sleeps.* Cf. *Iliad* v. 522:—

νεφέλησιν ἐοικότες, ὥς τε Κρονίων
 νηνεμῖης ἔωτησεν ἐπ' ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν
 ἀτρέμας, ὅφρ' εὐδῇσι μένος Βορέας καὶ ἄλλων
 ῥαχρεῖων ἀνέμων.

(‘Like mists that Kronos’ son setteth in windless air on the mountain tops, at peace, while the might of the north wind sleepeth and of all the violent winds.’ Tr. Leaf, Lang, Myers.)

l. 490. *element*, i.e. ‘the sky.’ Cf. *Comus*, 299:—

‘gay creatures of the element
 That in the colours of the rainbow live
 And play i’ the plighted clouds.’

Strictly of course Air is only one of the four elements, Earth, Fire, Water being the other three (*P. R.* ii. 122). In l. 538 Milton uses the synonym ‘welkin.’ Cf. *Twelfth Night*, iii. i. 64, ‘Who you are and what you would are out of my welkin, I might say “element,” but the word is overworn.’

l. 492. Cf. Spenser, *Sonnet* xl.

‘Lykest it seemeth, in my simple wit,
 Unto the fayre sunshine in somers day;
 That, when a dreadfull storme away is flit,
 Through the broad world doth spread his goodly ray;
 At sight whereof, each bird that sits on spray,
 And every beast that to his den was fled,
 Comes forth afresh out of their late dismay,
 And to the light lift up theyr drouping hed.
 So my storme-beaten hart likewise is cheared
 With that sunshine, when cloudy looks are cleared.’

chance. Cf. l. 396 n.

l. 495. *that*, i.e. 'so that.' Cf. l. 783 and Abbott, *Sh. Gr* § 283.

l. 496. Here, as in l. 483, one sees that Milton has the failings of mankind, and especially those of the disputant England of his day, always in his thoughts.

Devil . . . concord holds. The commentators quote from Hall, *Cont.* Bk. iv. 'Even evil spirits keep touch within themselves.' Cf. also the proverbial phrase, 'Honour among thieves.'

l. 499. *God proclaiming peace.* For instances of the 'absolute' construction, see i. 347, 776. Cf. also Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 376.

l. 501. Johnson objected to the phrase 'levy war,' but it is a technical legal term.

l. 508. *Paramount*, i.e. 'supreme': properly an epithet of the feudal sovereign, the 'Lord Paramount.' Here the adjective is used as a substantive: cf. l. 97 *n*.

l. 511. *god-like imitated*, i.e. 'like, by imitation, to that of gods.' The two words convey one idea.

l. 512. *globe.* The word may perhaps be used of a circle; cf. *Aen.* x. 373, 'globus ille virum densissimus,' but probably the Seraphim are thought of as in the air, and the globe spherical. It is certainly so in *P. R.* iv. 581:—

'A fiery globe
Of Angels on full sail of wing drew nigh.'

And in *Nat. Od.* 109:—

'At last surrounds their sight
A globe of circular light,
That with long beams the shamefaced Night arrayed.'

Seraphim. See Mr. Beeching's notes on i. 128, 129.

l. 513. *horrent.* As in 'horrid' (l. 63 *n.*), the ideas of

'terrible' and 'bristling' are here combined. So the 'horrentibus hastis' of *Aen.* x. 178.

l. 516. *Cherubim*. See Mr. Beeching's notes on i. 128, 129, 157.

l. 517. *alchemy*, properly used of any mixed metal. So Fletcher, *Purple Island*, vii. 39, of Hypocrisy, 'Such were his arms, false gold, true alchemy.' Bentley proposed to read 'orichalc,' which he thought more heroic and sonorous.

l. 521. Another 'absolute' clause; cf. l. 499 *n*.

l. 526. *entertain . . . the hours*. So we say indifferently, 'beguile the hours,' or 'beguile themselves.'

l. 527. *his*. So ed. 1: ed. 2 has 'this.'

l. 528. The whole of this passage is modelled on the account in *Aen.* vi. 642 *sqq.* of the various occupations of the heroes in Elysium. It is worth noticing in ll. 528-538 a special characteristic of the Renaissance, its use of incongruous imagery. Milton uses now terms of Greek warfare (rapid wheels), now of Roman (legions), now of mediaeval chivalry (aery knights, spears).

l. 530. *Olympian games*. These were the principal games of Greece, held every four years at Olympia in Elis. They were fabled to have been founded by Herakles.

Pythian fields. The Pythian games were held at Crisa in Phocis, two years after each Olympic festival. Crisa is close to Delphi, and the games were in honour of the Pythian oracle.

l. 531. *shun . . . wheels*. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 1. 4:—

'metaque fervidis

Evitata rotis.'

Here Bentley notes, 'With good judgment he says "rapid," not "fervid": because in these Hell games both the wheels and the burning marl they drove on were "fervid" even before the race.'

l. 533. The reference appears to be to the *Aurora Borealis*:

cf. below (l. 538), 'the welkin burns.' There is a parallel passage in *Julius Caesar*, ii. 2. 19:—

'Fierce fiery warriors fought upon the clouds
In ranks and squadrons and right forms of war,
Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol;
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
Horses did neigh, and dying men did groan.'

l. 536. *prick*, i.e. 'spur,' and so 'ride fast.' Cf. *F. Q.* i. 1. 1:—'A gentle knight was pricking on the plaine.'

couch, i.e. 'set in rest.' The 'rest' was a small socket made in the armour to receive the butt end of the spear.

l. 538. *welkin*, i.e. 'the sky,' properly the 'cloudy sky.' Cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.; and see note on 'element,' l. 490 *n.* The word recurs in *Comus*, 1015, 'Where the bowed welkin slow doth bend.'

l. 539. *Typhoean*. Typhoeus is a synonym of Typhon. See Mr. Beeching's note to i. 199.

l. 540. *ride the air*. Cf. l. 663, and *Macb.* iv. 1. 138, 'Infected be the air whereon they ride.'

l. 542. *Alcides*, a patronymic of Herakles from his grandfather Alcaeus. The death of Herakles was as follows. He had carried away the maiden Iole from Oechalia in Thessaly. His wife Deianeira, through jealousy, sent him a poisoned garment. In the pain and fury which this caused he threw the bearer, Lichas, into the sea. Then he ascended Mount Oeta, built a pile there, and persuaded a shepherd to fire it. The story is told in Ovid, *Met.* ix. 136 *sqq.* and alluded to in *Aen.* viii. 300.

Oeta is a hill in the south of Thessaly, near the Maliac gulf, which is a prolongation of the straits of Euboea.

from, i.e. 'coming from.'

Oechalia. So in ed. 2: ed. 1 no doubt by a misprint has Oealia.

l. 546. The description of the devils absorbed in intel-

lectual pursuits reminds one of Tennyson's *Palace of Art*, which he calls 'a sort of allegory' of—

'A sinful soul possessed of many gifts,
A spacious garden full of flowering weeds,
A glorious Devil, large in heart and brain,
That did love Beauty only.'

l. 551. This is the devils' theory of Fate, not Milton's: cf. 233ⁿ.

l. 554. *Suspended Hell*. Cf. the descriptions of Orpheus' music in *L'Allegro* 148:—

'Such strains as would have won the ear
Of Pluto to have quite set free
His half regained Eurydice.'

and *Il Pens*. 106:—

'Such notes as, warbled to the string,
Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek,
And made Hell grant what love did seek.'

and the account of Orpheus in Hell in *Georg.* iv. 481:—

'Quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima leti
Tartara.'

took, i.e. 'took the hearts of.' Cf. *Nat. Od.* 98 and *Comus*, 256:—

'Who, as they sung, would take the prisoned soul,
And lap it in Elysium.'

Also the speech of Perdita in *W. Tale*, iv. 4. 118:—

'Daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty.'

l. 556. This is Platonic doctrine. In the *Republic*, poetry and music are the beginning of education, dialectic, whereof the first meaning is philosophical discourse, the end.

l. 559. The subjects of ll. 559-560 are those of theology; those of ll. 562-564 belong to Greek philosophy.

l. 561. The reconciliation of Free Will and Divine Foreknowledge was a famous theological crux. Milton discusses the whole subject in *Christian Doctrine*, chaps. iii, iv.

wandering. Bentley would read 'winding,' because, he says, 'Mazes, Labyrinths do not themselves wander; though those that enter, wander in them.'

l. 564. *apathy*, the virtue of the Stoics, insensibility to the chances of the world.

l. 565. Cf. the judgment on earthly philosophy put into the mouth of Christ in *P. R.* iv. 285 *sqq.*

l. 566. This also is characteristic of Milton and of the Renaissance generally; the Christian divine rejecting the vain wisdom of the Pagans, the scholar finding solace and comfort therein.

l. 568. *obdured.* An unusual form of 'obdurate.' It recurs in vi. 785.

l. 569. *triple steel.* Cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 3, 9:—

'robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat.'

l. 575. *four infernal rivers.* These, as well as Lethe, are taken from classical mythology. They occur in Virgil, *Aen.* vi, and are described by Dante in *Inferno*, c. xiv. But both Milton and Dante rearrange the infernal scenery to suit themselves. 'Styx' is derived from *στυγείν*, 'to hate'; 'Acheron' from *ὁ ἄχαια πέων*, 'the stream of woe'; 'Cocytus' from *κακύειν*, 'to wail'; and 'Phlegeton' from *φλεγέθειν*, 'to burn.'

l. 581. *torrent*, i.e. 'burning,' synonymous with 'torrid,' as 'horrent' (l. 513) with 'horrid.' But there is no doubt a reference to the other sense of 'rushing.' This is the more ordinary use of the word. So 'torrent floods' (vi. 830), 'torrent rapture' (vii. 299), 'torrent flood' (*Comus*, 930).

l. 583. *Lethe*: cf. l. 74 n.

l. 589. *dire hail*: the 'dirae grandinis' of Horace, *Carm.* i. 2. 1.

l. 592. *Serbonian bog . . . Damiated . . . Mount Casius*.

The ancient lake Serbonis lay near the coast of Egypt between Damiated, the modern Damietta, and Mount Casius, now Cape Kareroon. It is mentioned in *Hdt.* ii. 8, and *Diod. Sic.* i. 30. The latter describes how the sand of the desert was at times blown upon it until it appeared solid, and whole armies deceived by this were destroyed.

l. 595. *frore*, i.e. 'frozen.' Cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s.v. Mrs. Browning uses the word in *The Dead Pan*, xvii.:—

'And the Loves, we used to know from
One another, huddled lie,
Frore as taken in a snow storm.'

the effect of fire. So Virgil, *Georg.* i. 93, 'Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.' According to Skeat, *loc. cit.*, the original meaning of 'freeze' is 'burn.'

l. 596. *harpy-footed*. The Harpies were half birds, half women. In *Aen.* iii. 209 *sqq.* they attack Aeneas and his company:—

'Virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
Exuvies, uncaeque manus, et pallida semper
Ora deum.'

Furies, in classical mythology, the ministers of divine vengeance, or Nemesis. They were three, Alecto, Tisiphone, Megaera, and were usually depicted as cruel-eyed women, with snakes for hair.

Dante introduces both Harpies (*Inf.* xiii. 10) and Furies (*Inf.* ix. 34) in Hell: but he does not identify them.

l. 599. *fierce extremes*. The idea of alternating heat and cold as a torture in hell is a common one. Mr. W. M. Conway (*Demonology and Devil-lore*, pt. ii. 3) quotes instances of it from the Jewish Rabbis, the Fathers, Thibet,

Persia, etc. Such a device would checkmate the hope of Belial in l. 218, to 'receive familiar the fierce heat': see Dante, *Inf.* iii. 87 and *Purg.* iii. 31:—

'A sofferir tormenti e caldi e gieli
Simili corpi la virtù dispone,
Che come fa non vuol ch'a noi si sveli.'

('To suffer torments both of heat and cold that Power ordains like bodies, which will not that the manner of its working be revealed to us.' Tr. A. J. Butler.)

Also *Meas. for Meas.* iii. 1. 121:—

'the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice.'

l. 600. *starve*, often used of perishing by cold. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s.v. says it is the A.S. *steorfan*, 'to die.'

l. 604. *they*, not the devils, to whom Milton only returns in l. 614, but 'all the damned.' Perpetual thirst is one of the punishments of 'Falsifiers' in Dante, *Inf.* xxx.

l. 611. *Medusa*, one of the Gorgons, who had snakes for hair, and the sight of whom turned the beholder to stone. She was slain by the Argive hero, Perseus, and her head was set in the aegis, or breast-plate of Athene.

l. 613. *wight*, i.e. 'person,' a Spenserian word.

l. 614. *Tantalus*. A mythical king of Argos and father of Pelops. For a sin against Zeus he was condemned in hell to eternal hunger and thirst, in the midst of water which withdrew itself from his lips, and branches of fruit which he could not reach. From his name is derived the word 'tantalize.' Cf. the description of him in *F. Q.* ii. 7. 57.

l. 617. *found no rest*. Milton has taken a hint from *Luke* xi. 24; *Matt.* xii. 43, 'When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none.'

l. 619. *region dolorous*, the 'città dolente' of Dante, *Inf.* iii. 1.

l. 620. *Alp*, used by Milton in the general sense of 'high hill': it recurs in *S. A.* 628.

l. 627. The alliteration—three stressed syllables beginning with 'f'—is more marked here than is quite usual with Milton. But a careful inspection will show that there is something of it in almost every other line. This is one of the points where the Spenserian influence is strongest in Milton.

l. 628. Cf. the rhythm of x. 524, 'Scorpion, and Asp, and Amphisbaena dire,' and see Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 285:—

'Mu'taque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,
Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllaeque bifformes,
Et centumgeminus Briareus, ac bellua Lernae
Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones, Harpyiaeque, et forma tricorporis umbrae.'

Gorgons: cf. l. 611 n.

Hydras, i. e. 'water-snakes.' The Lernaean Hydra was a monster with nine heads, which grew again when they were cut off. The slaying of it was one of the labours of Herakles.

Chimaeras. The Chimaera of mythology was a monster slain by Bellerophon. It is described in *Iliad* vi. 180:—

ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἔην θεῖον γένος οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων
πρόσθε λέων, ὀπίθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα,
δεῖνδ' ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο.

('Of divine birth was she and not of men, in front a lion, and behind a serpent, and in the midst a goat; and she breathed dread fierceness of blazing fire.' Tr. Leaf, Lang, Myers.)

l. 631. *puts on swift wings*, i. e. 'flies swiftly,' as we say, 'put on the pace,' or simply, 'put it on': cf. l. 700, 'to thy speed add wings.'

l. 634. *shaves*. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* v. 216:—

‘mox aere lapsa quieto
Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.’

l. 635. *concave*: cf. l. 434 *n*.

l. 636. The criticism of one great poet by another is always valuable. Wordsworth, in the preface to the 1815 edition of his poems, quotes ll. 636–643 as an example of poetic imagination, with the following comment: ‘Here is the full strength of the imagination involved in the word *hangs*, and exerted upon the whole image. First, the fleet, an aggregate of many ships, is represented as one mighty person, whose track, we know and feel, is upon the waters; but, taking advantage of its appearance to the senses, the poet dares to represent it as *hanging in the clouds*, both for the gratification of the mind in contemplating the image itself, and in reference to the motion and appearance of the sublime objects to which it is compared.’

Satan is likened to ‘a weather-beaten vessel’ in l. 1043, and again, in ix. 613, to a ship working up a river before a veering wind, and in *S. A.* 714 Dalila is described as:—

‘Like a stately ship
Of Tarsus, bound for the isles
Of Javan or Gadire,
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
Sails filled, and streamers waving,
Courtied by all the winds that hold them play.’

l. 637. *equinoctial winds*. Trade-winds blow from East to West across the Ethiopian, or, as we call it, the Indian Ocean, about the time of the equinoxes, March 21 and September 23.

l. 638. *Close sailing*, not ‘close to the wind,’ because the wind is behind them; but ‘close together,’ so as to look like one ship.

Bengala, India.

l. 639. *Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Moluccas.

l. 640. *they*; not, I think, the 'merchants,' but the 'fleet,' treated as a plural noun.

trading flood, the part of the ocean where the trade-winds blow.

l. 641. Notice the indefiniteness of Milton's description. Dante would have told you what port the ships were making for. But that is nothing to the picture.

l. 642. *stemming* seems to imply 'making way against opposition.' Cf. *Julius Caesar*, i. 2. 107:—

'The torrent roared, and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews, throwing it aside
And stemming it with hearts of controversy.'

l. 644. So in Hesiod, *Theog.* 726, 732, Tartarus has a brazen wall, and brazen gates set to it by Poseidon.

l. 646. *adamantine*: cf. l. 436 *n.*

l. 647. *impaled*, i.e. 'shut in': cf. vi. 553, 'impaled on every side with shadowing squadrons deep.'

The picture recalls the House of Busyrane in *F. Q.* iii. 11. 21; and the 'wildfire' that encircles Brynhild upon Hindfell. See W. Morris, *Sigurd the Volsung*, Bk. ii.

l. 648. Critics have censured Milton for the introduction of allegorical elements into a poem of which the main design was not intended to be allegorical. To a modern reader the incongruity is less apparent: it is natural to us, to treat much of the machinery of the poem, including Satan himself, rather as symbol, than as actual reality.

The sources of the description here given of Sin and Death are very many; probably the chief are, for Sin, the descriptions of Echidna in Hesiod, *Theog.* 298, and *F. Q.* vi. 6. 10; of Scylla in *Odyssey*, xii. 85 and *Aeneid*, iii. 424; of Error in *F. Q.* i. 1. 14; of Hamartia in Fletcher's *Purple Island*, xii. 27; and, for Death, those of Geryon in *Inf.* xvii. and of Disdain in *F. Q.* ii. 7. 41.

The whole allegory may be regarded as an expansion of *James* i. 15: 'Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.'

l. 651. Cf. Horace, *De A. P.* 4, 'Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.'

l. 653. *mortal*, i. e. 'causing death': cf. l. 73 *n.*, and Mr. Beeching's note to i. 2.

l. 654. *cry*. Bentley says, 'I may be ignorant of the Hunter's language; but I should believe he gave it—a crew of Hell-hounds.' He *was* ignorant. A 'cry' was a technical term for a pack of hounds; cf. *Coriol.* iii. 3. 120, 'You common cry of curs.' The *raison d'être* of it may be gathered from l. 795, and *M. N. Dream*, iv. 1. 128:—

'A cry more tuneable
Was never holla'd to, nor cheer'd with horn.'

In *Hamlet* iii. 2. 289 is used the phrase 'a cry of players.'

l. 655. *Cerberean*. Cerberus was a many-headed dog which lay at the gates of Hades: cf. *Aen.* vi. 417:—

'Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.'

l. 658. *kennel*: cf. *Rich. III.* iv. 4. 47:—

'From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death.'

l. 660. *vexed*—a happy epithet—of the beating waves. So Tennyson, *Ulysses*:—

'Through scudding drifts the rainy Hyades
Vext the dim sea.'

Scylla and *Charybdis* were two rocks, the dread of seamen, on either side the passage between Italy and Sicily. Both *Odysseus* (*Od.* xii. 234) and *Aeneas* (*Aen.* iii. 424) had to pass by them. Homer describes *Scylla* (*Od.* xii. 85) as 'yelping terribly,' and 'Verily she hath twelve feet all

dangling down, and six necks exceeding long, and on each a hideous head, and therein three rows of teeth set thick and close, full of black death.' Of Charybdis he says, 'Thereon is a great fig-tree growing, in fullest leaf, and beneath it mighty Charybdis sucks down black water, for thrice a day she spouts it forth, and thrice a day she sucks it down in terrible wise' (Tr. Butcher and Lang).

Howell (*Epist. Ho-El.* i. 1. 27), writing perhaps in 1621, says, 'We passed . . . through Scylla and Charybdis, about which the ancient poets, both Greek and Latin, keep such a coil; but they are nothing so horrid and dangerous as they make them to be; they are two white keen-pointed rocks that lie under water diametrically oppos'd, and like two dragons defying one another.'

l. 661. *Calabria* must be taken as a name for the whole of Italy. Properly it is the 'heel,' and not the 'toe,' which is the part divided by the Straits of Messina from Sicily.

Trinacrian. Sicilian, so called from the three-cornered shape of the island—*τρῖς*, 'thrice'; *ἄκρα*, 'promontory.'

l. 663. *riding through the air*: cf. l. 540 n.

l. 665. *Lapland witches.* The old writers on Demonology regard witches as proper to the north, especially Russia and Iceland. Mr. Browne quotes from Jeremy Taylor's *Apples of Sodom*, of sinful pleasure: 'It is such as the old women have in the Lapland dances; they dance the round, but there is a horror and a harshness in the music.'

l. 665. *labouring.* The 'lunae labores' of Virg. *Georg.* ii. 478 are her eclipses.

l. 666. *eclipses.* We say, 'is eclipsed': Milton follows the Greek use—*ἐκλείπει*, 'leaves the sky.'

l. 669. *that shadow seemed.* Coleridge says, 'The grandest efforts of poetry are where the imagination is called forth to produce, not a distinct form, but a strong working of the mind, still offering what is still repelled, and again creating what is again rejected; the result being what the poet wishes

to impress, viz. the sublime feeling of the unimaginable for mere images. Painters illustrating this passage have described Death by the most defined thing that can be imagined, which, instead of keeping the mind in a state of activity, reduces it to the merest passivity.'

For somewhat similar treatment of Death, see Spenser, *F. Q.* vii. 7. 46 :—

'Death with most grim and griesly visage seene,
Yet he is nought but parting of the breath;
Ne ought to see, but like a shade to weene,
Unbodied, unsoul'd, unheard, unseene.'

And Tennyson, *In Mem.* xxii. 3; xxiii. 1 :—

'The Shadow fear'd of man':
'The Shadow cloak'd from head to foot,
Who keeps the keys of all the creeds.'

l. 671. *ten.* The only point in the selection of this number is the alliteration with 'terrible.'

l. 673. *a kingly crown.* In *Job* xviii. 14 Death is called 'the king of terrors.'

l. 676. *with horrid strides.* So Aias, in *Iliad* vii. 213, ἦε μακρὰ βῆς ('went striding mightily').

Hell trembled: cf. l. 352, 'An oath that shook Heaven's whole circumference'; also ll. 719, 788, and the note *ad loc.*

l. 677. *admired*, i. e. 'wondered': cf. i. 690, with Mr. Beeching's note *ad loc.*

l. 678. *except*: cf. l. 333 *n.* and especially the parallel from Dante.

The following needless emendation has been made in MS. in the British Museum copy of the 1668 form of ed. 1 :—

'Admir'd, naught fear'd, God and his Son except;
Created thing nor valu'd he nor shunn'd.'

l. 686. *taste*, i. e. 'try,' 'prove': cf. *Ps.* xxxiv. 8, 'Oh taste and see that the Lord is good'; and *Hebrews* vi. 5, 'Those who . . . have tasted the good word of God.'

l. 688. *Goblin*, properly a mountain-spirit or demon: according to Skeat, from O. Fr. *gobelin* = Low Lat. *gobelinus*, dim. of L. L. *cobalus* = Gk. *κόβαλος* (*Etym. Dict.* s. v.). The word recurs in *L'Allegro* 105.

l. 692. *third part of Heaven's sons*: cf. v. 710:—

‘with lies

Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host.’

and *Rev.* xii. 4, of the ‘great red dragon’; ‘His tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth.’

l. 693. *conjured*: cf. *Virg. Georg.* i. 280, ‘Coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres.’

l. 701. *a whip of scorpions*: cf. *1 Kings* xii. 11, ‘My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.’

l. 706. *deform*: cf. xi. 494, ‘sight so deform.’

l. 708. *like a comet*. So, in *Aen.* x. 272, the gleaming armour of Aeneas is likened to the red glare of comets by night; and in Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* vii. 52:—

‘Qual con le chiome sanguinose orrende
Splender cometa suol per l'aria adusta,
Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi adduce,
Ai purpurei tiranni infausta luce.’

(‘As, shaking terrors from his blazing hair,
A sanguine comet gleams through dusky air,
To ruin States and dire diseases spread,
A baleful light on purple tyrants shed.’ Tr. Hoole.)

l. 709. *Ophiuchus*, or *Serpentarius*—the *Serpent-bearer*—a large constellation in the northern heavens.

l. 711. *pestilence and war*. Such was the old superstition about comets. Cf. *F. Q.* iii. 1. 16:—

‘All as a blazing starre doth farre outcast
His hearie beames, and flaming lockes dispredd,
At sight whereof the people stand aghast;
But the sage wizard telles, as he has redd,
That it importunes death and doleful drery-hedd.’

l. 714. There is a similar comparison in Boiardo, *Orl. Innam*, ii. 4.

l. 715. *heaven's artillery*, the 'armamentaria caeli' of *Juv.* xiii. 83.

l. 716. *the Caspian*. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* ii. 9. 2:—

'mare Caspium
Vexant inaequales procellae.'

l. 721. *never but once more*. The allusion is obviously to the death and resurrection of Christ.

l. 729. *mortal*: cf. l. 653 *n*.

l. 735. *Pest*: cf. Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 5. 2, 'Che abbominevol peste, che Megera'; and vii. 4, where Erifila is called 'la maledetta peste.'

l. 749. *the assembly*, presumably that described in v. 755 *sqq.*

l. 750. *Seraphim*: cf. l. 512 *n*.

l. 758. *Out of thy head*. Milton has adapted the classical myth of the birth of Athene from the head of Zeus, told in the pseudo-Homeric *Hymn to Athene*.

l. 761. *familiar grown, I pleased*. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, ii. 217:—

'Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.'

l. 771. *Empyrean*. Cf. l. 79 *n*.; l. 139 *n*.

The fall of the angels is described in l. 993 *sqq.*; and in vi. 856 *sqq.* On a certain inconsistency in the accounts, see Mr. Beeching's note to i. 170.

l. 772. *pitch*, i.e. 'height'; the metaphor is taken from falconry: cf. viii. 198:—

'from this high pitch let us descend
A lower flight.'

and 2 *Hen. VI*, ii. 1. 5:—

‘But what a point, my lord, your falcon made,
And what a pitch she flew above the rest!’

l. 783. *that*, i. e. ‘so that’: cf. l. 495 *n*.

l. 788. *Hell trembled*. Milton is aware of the sublime effect to be obtained by making the Cosmos itself interested in the action of his story. Cf. ll. 353, 676, 719; the best instance is in the account of the Fall itself in Bk. ix. Thus in ix. 780:—

‘So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth-reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she eat,
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
Sighing through all her works, gave sign of woe
That all was lost.’

and later, when Adam yields, in ix. 1000:—

‘Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan;
Sky loured, and muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal sin
Original.’

l. 789. For the effective repetition of the word ‘Death,’ cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 43:—

‘His adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
Clamassent, ut litus “Hyla, Hyla” omne sonaret.’

and *Georg.* iv. 525:—

“Eurydicen” vox ipsa et frigida lingua
“Ah miseram Eurydicen!” anima fugiente vocabat;
“Eurydicen” toto referebant flumine ripae.”

and Shelley, *Prom. Unbound*, i. 107:—

‘The tongueless caverns of the craggy hills
Cried “Misery!” then; the hollow Heaven replied,
“Misery!” And the Ocean’s purple waves,
Climbing the land, howled to the lashing winds,
And the pale nations heard it, “Misery!”’

and Tennyson, *Merlin and Vivien*, ad fin. :—

‘Then crying “I have made his glory mine,”
And shrieking out “O fool!” the harlot leapt
Adown the forest, and the thicket closed
Behind her, and the forest echoed “fool!”’

l. 800. *their repast*. So Prometheus is the perpetual prey of a vulture, who gnaws his vitals.

l. 801. *conscious terrors*, i.e. ‘terrors due to conscience.’ So in ix. 1050, after the sin of Adam and Eve :—

‘grosser sleep
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
Encumbered, now had left them.’

In the allegory, the ‘yelling monsters’ stand, no doubt, for the pangs of remorse, which attend upon sin. They are occasioned by the fear of death.

l. 802. Cf. *Is.* lvii. 20, 21, ‘The wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.’

l. 813. *tempered heavenly*. Cf. i. 285, of Satan’s shield. ‘Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round.’

dint, i.e. ‘stroke,’ a Spenserian word.

l. 820. *Then sweet, now sad to mention*. A familiar idea—‘*fuisse felicem miserrimum*,’ as it was written on the tomb of Richard II. in Westminster Abbey. Dante puts it in the mouth of Francesca—*Inf.* v. 121 :—

‘Ed ella a me : Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria.’

(‘Then she to me : There is no greater woe, than to recall the days of happiness in misery.’)

Mr. Churton Collins suggests that Dante borrowed the phrase from Boethius, *De Consol. Philos.* ii. *Prosa* iv., ‘In omni adversitate fortunae, infelicissimum genus est infortunii

fuisse felicem et non esse.' He quotes also Pindar, *Pyth. Od.* iv. 510; and *Thuc.* ii. 44. 5. Our English poets have borrowed it from Dante. Thus Chaucer, *Tr. and Cress.* iii. 1625 :—

'For of misfortune's sharpe adversite
The worste kind of infortune is this :
A man to have been in prosperite
And it remember when it passed is.'

And Tennyson, *Locksley Hall*, 75 :—

'this is truth the poet sings
That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.'

l. 823. *house of pain*. So the pit is called, in x. 465, the 'house of woe': cf. *Exod.* xx. 2, 'I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.'

l. 825. *pretences*, i. e. 'claims,' in no depreciatory sense : cf. vi. 420 :—

'Found worthy not of liberty alone
Too mean pretence.'

l. 827. *uncouth* : cf. l. 407 n.

l. 829. *unfounded Deep*, the 'bottomless . . . Abyss' of l. 405 : 'unfounded' is used here in its radical sense, from the Latin *fundus*, 'bottom.'

void immense : cf. ll. 97 n., 438 n.

l. 833. *purlieus*. Properly a legal term, 'the borders of a forest,' from French *pourallee*, a translation of L. L. *perambulatio* (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.). The word is used with reference to a forest in iv. 404.

l. 838. The 'more secret' design is no doubt the showing forth of God's mercy in the redemption of man. This is hidden from Satan.

l. 842. *buxom*, in the radical sense—'bow-some'—'yielding.' So in v. 270. The later sense of *L'Allegro* 23, 'A daughter

fair, So buxom blithe and debonair,' seems to have arisen as follows—'yielding'='amiable'='well-favoured' in mind or body. Spenser also, *F. Q.* i. 11. 37, has 'the buxome aire.'

l. 844. The taste of the forbidden tree 'brought death into the world' (i. 3). Cf. *Gen.* ii. 17, with *P. L.* x. 272, etc. In x. 609, Man is called Death's 'last and sweetest prey.'

l. 846. *grinned . . . smile.* Cf. *Iliad* vii. 212—*μειδιόων βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι*—('with a smile on his grim face,' Tr. L. L. M.); and Dante, *Inf.* v. 4, 'Stavvi Minos orribilmente, e ringhia' ('Minos waits there horrible, and grins'). Spenser, *F. Q.* v. 12. 16, has 'grinning griesly,' and Sylvester, *Du Bartas* (1621), p. 1015, 'grinning gastly.'

l. 853. *adamantine*: cf. l. 436 *n.*

l. 858. *Tartarus*: cf. l. 69 *n.*

l. 868. *The gods who live at ease*—*Θεοὶ πέτα ζῶντες*—as Homer has it in *Iliad* vi. 138. The Epicurean writers elaborated this description, combining with it that of the home of the gods in *Od.* vi. 42 *sqq.* Thus Lucretius, iii. 17:—

'Apparet divum numen sedesque quietae
Quas neque concutiant venti nec nubila nimbis
Aspergunt neque nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat semperque innubilis aether
Integit, et large diffuso lumine ridet.'

Tennyson has paraphrased these ideas in several familiar passages: viz. *Lotos-eaters' Song*, st. viii.; *Lucretius*, 104, and *Passing of Arthur*, ad fin.

l. 877. *wards.* Strictly the wards are part of a lock, not of a key.

l. 881. Swift found the following passage in Don Bellianis (tr. 1650), ii. 19: 'Open flew the brazen folding-doors, grating harsh thunder on their turning hinges.'

grate. Ed. i. has 'great,' which is corrected in the list of Errata in the later issues.

l. 883. *Erebus*, here used for Hell: cf. use of 'Tartarus'

(l. 69 *n.*). In Greek myth, Erebus is strictly 'the place of darkness' between Earth and Hades. Cf. *Georg.* iv. 471 :—

'At cantu commotæ Erebi de sedibus imis
Umbræ ibant tenues.'

l. 890. Chaos, in the Miltonic cosmogony, occupied, before the creation of Hell and Earth, the whole of the lower half of Infinity, whereof the upper half is Heaven, or the Empyrean. See diagram in note on l. 79. It is not regarded as empty space, but as containing, in inextricable confusion, the elements, 'embryon atoms' or 'pregnant causes' of created things. This conception is taken partly from Aristotle (see l. 898 *n.*), partly from Lucretius and the earlier Greek Atomists, whom Lucretius follows. But Milton also personifies Chaos, and with him Night, borrowing a touch from the older Greek cosmogonies. See notes on ll. 79, 150, and Prof. Masson's essays on the Miltonic Cosmogony in his various editions of Milton.

l. 891. *hoary*, i. e. 'ancient': cf. *Job* xli. 32, 'One would think the deep to be hoary.' The allusion in this passage is no doubt to the white crests of the waves, but I think that Milton wishes to emphasize the antiquity of Chaos.

l. 892. *illimitable*. According to Lucretius, the 'primordia rerum' are *inane*, the 'void,' and *corpora*, 'atoms,' both of which are necessarily infinite in extent. See *De Rer. Nat.* i. 958 *sqq.*

l. 894. *eldest Night and Chaos*. So l. 962, 'sable-vested Night, eldest of things'; i. 543, 'the reign of Chaos and old Night'; x. 477, 'unoriginal Night and Chaos wild.' In *F. Q.* i. 5. 22, Night is addressed as 'thou most auncient Grand-mother of all.' According to Hesiod, *Theog.* 116 *sqq.*, Chaos was the first of things, and of Chaos came Erebus and black Night. Of Night and Erebus were born the Sky and the Day; and at a later time Night became the mother of Destiny, Death, Sleep, Momus, Care, the Hesperides, the Fates, and Nemesis.

l. 896. *Anarchy*: cf. l. 988, 'anarch old.' Chaos is beyond the domain of Law. Creation is the bringing of Law into Chaos: Thus iii. 708:—

'I saw when, at his word, the formless mass,
This World's material mould, came to a heap;
Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar
Stood ruled, stood vast Infinitude confined;
Till, at his second bidding, Darkness fled,
Light shone, and order from disorder sprung.'

l. 898. *Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry*. Lucretius (*De R. N.* ii. 842 *sqq.*) will not allow these to be primal qualities of atoms; but according to Aristotle, they are the four elementary qualities by the combinations of which the four elements are formed. Thus Dry + Hot, Dry + Cold, Moist + Hot, Moist + Cold = Fire, Air, Earth, Water, respectively. See also Ovid, *Met.* i. 19:—

'corpore in uno
Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis.'

l. 900. *embryon*. Addison said that Milton coined this word: but Browne, *Britt. Past.* i. 4, has 'the embrion blossom of each spray,' and Donne, *The Progress of the Soul*, 301, 'Into an embrion fish our soul is thrown.'

atoms: cf. l. 892 *n.*

l. 902. *light-armed or heavy*. Notice how Milton, like Lucretius before him, by the use of his poetic imagination, transfigures into metaphor the dry terminology of science. Lucretius (*De R. N.* ii. 333 *sqq.*) attributes the varying qualities of things to the original differences in size and shape of the atoms from which they are compounded.

l. 904. *Barca* is the modern Merjeh, *Cyrene* is Cairoan; both on the north coast of Africa. Heylin, in his *Microcosmus* (1627), p. 749, says of the district: 'This country is all over covered with a light sand, which the winds remove

continually up and down, turning vallies into hills, and hills into vallies.'

l. 904. *torrid*: cf. l. 581 *n*.

l. 905. *levied*, i.e. 'raised,' in the radical sense, of the Latin *levare*. But Milton still has the military metaphor of the last few lines in his head: cf. l. 501 *n*.

l. 906. *lighter*. I think the comparative is used, according to a common Latin use, in the sense of 'too light.' The wings of the atoms are too light to prevent their being tossed by the winds.

l. 909. *high arbiter* goes with 'him,' not 'Chance.' In l. 359, God is called 'Heaven's high Arbitrator.'

l. 911. The idea of this fine line is a commonplace in literature: Cf. Lucr. *De R. N.* v. 259:—

'Omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulcrum.'

And *Romeo and Juliet*, ii. 3. 9:—

'The earth, that's nature's mother is her tomb.'

And *Pericles*, ii. 3. 45:—

'Whereby I see that Time is King of men,
He's both their parent, and he is their grave.'

And Davison, *Poetical Rhapsody* (1611), 164:—

'Thy womb that all doth breed is tomb to all.'

And Mackail, *On . . . Arnold Toynbee* (*Love's Looking Glass*):—

'The soul beyond her knowing seems to sweep
Out of the deep, fire-winged, into the deep.'

l. 912. *Sea, Shore, Air, Fire*—the four Elements: cf. l. 898 *n*.

l. 914. *and which*. The 'and,' according to modern syntax, is superfluous.

l. 919. *frith*, 'an arm of the sea'; the Latin *fretum*.

l. 921. *to compare . . . small.* The phrase recurs in x. 306 and *P. R.* iv. 563. It is Virgilian: see e.g. *Ecl.* i. 24, 'Sic parvis componere magna solebam.'

l. 922. *Bellona*, the Roman goddess of War.

l. 927. *vans*, i.e. 'wings.' It is the same word as 'fans.' In *P. R.* iv. 583, 'plumy fans' is used in the same sense, and 'quick fan' in *P. L.* v. 269.

Cf. Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* ix. 60, 'Indi spiega al gran volo i vanni aurati.' Tennyson follows Milton in *Love and Death*, 'Love wept and spread his sheeny vans for flight.'

Notice the alliteration on the letter 's' in ll. 927-9.

l. 931. *that seat soon failing.* Another absolute construction: cf. l. 499 n.

l. 937. *instinct*, i.e. 'urged or animated from within': cf. vi. 750:—

'The chariot of Paternal Deity
 undrawn,
 Itself instinct with Spirit.'

l. 939. *Syrtis*, a quicksand off the coast of Carthage: cf. Lucan, *Phars.* ix. 304:—

'Syrtis vel primam mundo Natura figuram
 Cum daret, in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit.'

l. 940. *nor good dry land.* This cannot but remind one of the familiar phrase, 'Neither flesh, fish, nor fowl, nor good red herring.'

l. 943. *gryphon . . . Arimasbian.* A gryphon, if we may trust *Alice in Wonderland*, is a four-legged creature with the beak and wings of a vulture, and on intimate terms with the mock-turtle. Herodotus (iii. 116; iv. 13), following Aristaeas of Proconnesus, places both the gryphons and the Arimaspi in the north of Europe, the modern Russia. He says: 'By far the greatest quantity of gold appears to exist in the north of Europe. I cannot say for certain, but it is reported that the Arimaspi, who are a one-eyed people, steal

it from the charge of the gryphons.' Probably this was a traveller's tale, invented by gold-traders to keep off rivals. Cf. also Aesch. *P. V.* 801 *sqq.*:—

ὄξυστόμους γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας
γρύπας φύλαξαι, τὸν τε μουνῶπα στρατὸν
'Αριμασπὸν ἱπποβάμον', οἱ χρυσόρρυτον
οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ νᾶμα Πλούτωνος πόρου.

('There watch the sharp-fanged unbarking dogs of Zeus, the gryphons, and there the Arimaspians host of one-eyed horsemen, who dwell around the stream of Pluton's ferry, that flows with gold.')

l. 948. *rare*, i. e. 'thinly scattered,' the opposite of 'dense': cf. vi. 351 of the angels:—

'as they please

They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size
Assume as likes them best, condense or rare.'

l. 951. *hubbub*. So the 'hubbub strange' of Babel in xii. 60. According to Skeat (*Etym. Dict.* s. v. 'whoop') it is a reduplicated form of 'hoop' or 'whoop,' i. e. 'shout.' No doubt it is onomatopoeic.

l. 960. *dark pavilion*. Cf. *Ps.* xviii. 110, 'His pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies': and Hesiod, *Theog.* 744:—

νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινὰ
ἔστηκεν, νεφέλης κεκαλυμμένα κυανέησι.

('The dread halls of swarthy night stood there, shrouded in leaden clouds.')

l. 961. *wasteful Deep*. Is this the ἀτρύγετος πόντος, 'unharvested deep' of Homer?

l. 962. *sable-vested Night*: cf. the μελάμπελος Νύξ of Eurip. *Ion*, 1150.

And *F. Q.* i. 5. 20,

'Night . . . in a foule black pitchy mantle clad.'

l. 962. *eldest of things*: cf. l. 894 *n*.

l. 964. *Orcus*, a synonym of Hades.

Ades. Properly the King of the Dead: then the Home of the Dead.

name of Demogorgon: i.e. 'Demogorgon': cf. vi. 355 'the might of Gabriel,' vi. 371 'the violence of Ramiel.' The periphrasis is common in Latin: cf. *Livy*, iii. 8. 10, 'Volscum nomen prope deletum est.' But here Milton wishes to call especial attention to the idea of the *name*. Demogorgon, according to Professor Masson, is first mentioned by Lactantius, a Christian writer of the fourth century. But there are earlier dark allusions to him as an awful being whose name is not to be mentioned. Thus in Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vi. 744:—

' ille

Compellendus erit, quo nunquam terra vocato
Non concussa tremit.'

Milton in one of his Latin works suggests that probably Demogorgon is to be identified with Chaos itself. Spenser speaks of Hypocrisy in *F. Q.* i. 1. 37, as—

'A bold bad man, that dar'd to call by name
Great Gorgon, prince of darknes and dead night;
At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight.'

It is a common characteristic of the infernal deities of various mythologies to conceal their names. Cf. the well-known story of Rumpelstiltskin or Tom Tim Tot, and Prof. Rhys on the dark divinities of the Celts in his *Hibbert Lectures*.

l. 967. The stage-direction to 2 *Hen. IV.* Induction is, 'Enter Rumour, painted full of tongues.'

l. 976. *what . . . leads*. For the derivation of the relative from the interrogative use of 'what,' etc., see Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 251.

l. 981. *directed*. The participle stands for a conditional clause: cf. l. 92 *n*.

l. 983. *reduce*, i.e. 'bring back'—the radical meaning.

l. 991. The war in Heaven is described in Bk. vi.: on the fall to Hell, cf. l. 771 *n*.

l. 999. *can*, i.e. 'can do': cf. l. 188 *n*.

l. 1001. *our*. So the early edd., but Bentley and other commentators read 'your.'

l. 1004. *heaven*, with a small 'h,' the terrestrial heaven, not the empyreal Heaven of l. 1006.

l. 1005. *linked in a golden chain*: cf. l. 1051. In *Iliad* viii. 25, Zeus speaks of fastening earth to heaven by a golden chain and holding it suspended, as a trial of strength. Mr. Leaf says *ad loc.*: 'It is curious that this line . . . should have been made the base of all sorts of mystical interpretations and curious myths from the earliest times.'

l. 1013. *like a pyramid of fire*. Cf. Drayton, *David and Goliath*, 'He look't like to a pyramid of fire'; and Tennyson, *Gareth and Lynette*, of the fallen 'Star of Evening': 'Up like fire he started.'

l. 1017. *Argo*, the ship in which Jason sailed through the straits of Bosphorus or Constantinople, to fetch the golden fleece from Colchis on the further side of the Euxine. The whole story is told in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. The Symplegades are described in ii. 317 sqq., 549 sqq.

l. 1018. *justling rocks*. The Symplegades rocks in the Bosphorus, which closed on anything that passed between them; the 'concurrentia saxa' of Juv. *Sat.* xv. 19.

l. 1020. *Charybdis*. The adventure of Ulysses between Scylla and Charybdis is told in *Odyssey* xii. 234 sqq.

the other whirlpool, i.e. Scylla: cf. l. 660 *n*.

l. 1024. *amain*: cf. l. 165 *n*.

l. 1028. *a bridge*. The building of this bridge is described in x. 282 sqq. The idea of a narrow bridge from Earth to the World of the Dead is common in comparative mythology. See Prof. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 55, etc.

l. 1033. *God and good angels*. This sounds like a popular phrase: cf. *Rich. III*, v. 3. 175:—

‘God and good angels fight on Richmond’s side.’

For Milton’s belief in tutelary angels, see ix. 155:—

‘Subjected to his (Man’s) service Angel-wings
And flaming ministers, to watch and tend
Their earthly charge.’

S. A. 1431:—

‘Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand
Fast by thy side.’

Comus, 658:—

‘Some good angel bear a shield before us.’

Also *Christian Doctrine*, i. 9.

l. 1034. So in iii. 88, Earth is described as ‘in the precincts of light.’

l. 1037. *a glimmering dawn*: cf. Tennyson, *In Mem.* lxvii.:—

‘And in the dark church like a ghost
Thy tablet glimmers to the dawn.’

l. 1049. Cf. the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in *Rev.* xxi. The phrase ‘undetermined square or round’ is an instance of Milton’s love of indefiniteness (cf. l. 669 *n.*); for in *Rev.* xxi. 16, ‘the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth.’

l. 1052. *this pendent world*: cf. *Meas. for Meas.* iii. 1. 125:—

‘blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world.’

What Satan saw was the whole Universe hanging from Heaven. The proportion of it to Heaven itself was as that of a star to the moon. Addison, as Prof. Masson points out, fell into the error of thinking that Satan saw ‘the Earth that hung close by the moon.’

